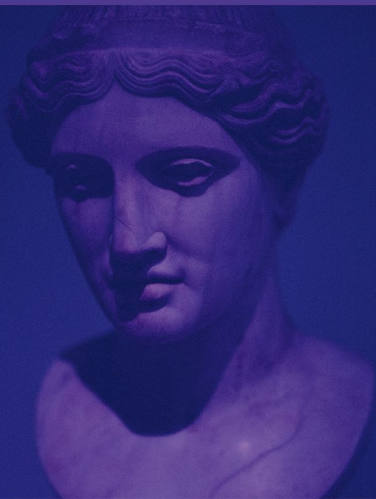


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Pindar and the Poetics of Permanence

Henry Spelman



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Pindar and the Poetics of Permanence

HENRY SPELMAN

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For my parents, †J.H.S and R.L.S

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Note on Translations and Conventions

Translations are my own. They aim at nothing more than giving a general sense of how I understand the Greek. All ancient names have been anglicized (thus ‘Achilles’ rather than ‘Akhilleus’).

Abbreviations of ancient authors generally follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*⁴, but Bacchylides is abbreviated simply as ‘B.’. I refer to the Theognidea without taking a position on authenticity. Thus ‘Thgn.’ and never ‘[Thgn.]’.

List of Abbreviations

BNJ	Brill's New Jacoby (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby).
CA	J. U. Powell ed., <i>Collectanea Alexandrina</i> (Oxford 1925).
CEG	P. A. Hansen ed., <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , 2 vols. (Texte und Kommentare 12, 15; Berlin 1983–9).
Denniston	J. D. Denniston, <i>The Greek Particles</i> ² , rev. K. J. Dover (Oxford 1954).
D-K	H. Diels ed., <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> ⁶ , 3 vols., rev. W. Kranz (Berlin 1951–2).
FGE	D. L. Page ed., <i>Further Greek Epigrams. Epigrams before AD 50 from The Greek Anthology and other sources not included in Hellenistic Epigrams or The Garland of Philip</i> (Cambridge 1981).
FGrH	F. Jacoby <i>et al.</i> eds, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Leiden 1923–).
Fowler	R. L. Fowler ed., <i>Early Greek Mythography</i> , 2 vols. (Oxford 2000–13).
GEF	M. L. West ed., <i>Greek Epic Fragments</i> (Cambridge, MA 2003).
GP	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page eds, <i>The Greek Anthology. The Garland of Philip and some contemporary epigrams</i> (Cambridge 1968).
HE	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page eds, <i>The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic epigrams</i> (Cambridge 1965).
LSJ ⁹	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, <i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> ⁹ , rev. H. Stuart-Jones <i>et al.</i> (Oxford 1940).
PCG	R. Kassel and C. F. L. Austin eds, <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , 8 vols. to date (Berlin 1983–).
PMG	D. L. Page ed., <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> (Oxford 1962, corrected reprint 1967).
Slater	W. J. Slater, <i>Lexicon to Pindar</i> (Berlin 1969).
SLG	D. L. Page ed., <i>Supplementum lyricis Graecis. Poetarum lyricorum Graecorum fragmenta quae recens innotuerunt</i> (Oxford 1974).

- S-M B. Snell and H. Maehler eds, *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1987–9).
- TrGF *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Vol. 1 *Didascaliae Tragicae, Catalogi Tragicorum et Tragoediarum, Testimonia et Fragmenta Tragicorum Minorum* (ed. B. Snell; Göttingen 1971¹, 1986²); vol. 2 *Fragmenta Adespota* (eds R. Kannicht and B. Snell; 1981); vol. 3 *Aeschylus* (ed. S. L. Radt; 1977); vol. 4 *Sophocles* (ed. S. L. Radt; 1985¹, 1999²); vol. 5 *Euripides* (ed. R. Kannicht; 2 parts; 2004).
- W M. L. West ed., *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*², 2 vols. (Oxford 1989–92).

Precis

This work is concerned with Pindar and archaic Greek literary culture. Part One discusses Pindar's relationship to his audiences. It demonstrates how his victory odes address an audience present at their premiere performance and also a broader secondary audience throughout space and time. I argue that getting the most out of these texts involves simultaneously assuming the perspectives of both. Part Two describes how Pindar uses other lyric to situate his work both within an immanent poetic history and within a contemporary poetic culture. It sets out Pindar's vision of the literary world, both past and present, and shows how this framework shapes the meaning of his work.

Part One

Pindar's Audiences

Introduction to Part One

The question of how we should interpret Pindar's epinicians as historical artefacts is intertwined with the question of what audience he addressed. The intended receiver often plays a key role in the interpretation of various acts of communication. A papyrus, for instance, forbidding anyone from entering the house of a priest has a different interest and usefulness as evidence if we understand that it is a public sign, not a private letter.¹ Pindaric scholarship since Bundy has given the poet's audience an increasingly central role. In one of the few appeals to extratextual reality in *Studia Pindarica*, Bundy (1986; original 1962) 32 announces that he seeks to elucidate 'a grammar of choral style that will tell us what systems of shared symbols enabled the poet and his audience to view the odes as unified artistic wholes'. Much subsequent scholarship has focused on Pindar's original 'listening audience' (Bundy (1986) 35) but in a different way.

Alongside the rhetorical approach descending from Bundy there has developed a 'pragmatic'² approach which emphasizes the necessity of situating Greek lyric in the immediate circumstances of its initial production and reception.³ Gentili (1984; English translation 1988) remains among the most cited works in the field. Herington (1985) brought attention to non-verbal elements of performance. Calame's

¹ Text and photograph in Cavallo and Maehler (2008) 28–9.

² Cf. Rösler (1984), Gentili (1990), Neumann-Hartmann (2009) 5, Caciagli (2016) 245–8.

³ Ford (2003) 37: 'the literally unforgettable songs that we read were surrounded by a untranscribable world that we can only read, but we must find ways to do so if we wish to unfold once again the tablets of song;' Fearn (2011b) 211: 'there is an ever-increasing realisation amongst scholars that epichoric conditions provide the key to a rounded understanding of choral lyric.'

study of maiden choruses (1977; English translation 1997) paved the way for later works with an anthropological focus. Rösler's book on Alcaeus (1980) set an example for much subsequent scholarship by focusing on the social role of lyric.

The performance-oriented approach to Greek lyric, born in the 1970s and 1980s but developing threads inherent in earlier scholarship, has by now matured into a standard and indeed dominant style of interpretation.⁴ Since Simonides' 'Plataea Elegy' was published in 1992, for example, its original performance context has received a great deal of attention.⁵ Many recent monographs on Pindar and Bacchylides privilege initial performance as the primary focus of research. Krummen (1990) studies Pindar's work as 'Gelegenheitsdichtung' (1) in which 'die Gedichte selbst richten sich an ein unmittelbar anwesendes, dem Dichter bekanntes Publikum' (4). Krummen's premises include 'daß Pindars Gedichte in einem historischen Kontext zu verstehen sind, daß sie für bestimmte Rahmenbedingungen komponiert wurden' (27). Kurke (1991) seeks to describe how epinician negotiated ideological fault lines within the victor's home community. Cole (1992) 15 aspires towards 'getting at the entire experience of which these texts were once a part'. Pfeijffer (1999a) 11 aims to show how an ode 'fulfilled its encomiastic aims in the context of its first performance'. H. S. Mackie (2003) 1 'stud[ies] Pindar's epinician poetry from the perspective of performance'. Focusing on Aegina, Burnett (2005) 5 tries to 'discover the pleasures taken and the influences felt as a particular audience watched each performance'. Currie (2005) 205–25 interprets *Isthmian* 7 as a meditation on an unmentioned

⁴ Budelmann (2009b) 15: 'as scholarship in the humanities started taking a "performative turn", performance became the heart also of a new paradigm for Greek lyric, pioneered by Bruno Gentili and John Herington in the 1980s and dominant ever since.' See already e.g. Hor. *Ars. P.* 401–7, Ath. 14.627a–b Kaibel, Wilamowitz (1900) 14, Merkelbach (1957) 6, Fränkel (1975) 133.

⁵ The range of proposed answers, from Plataea (Rutherford (2001b) 40) to Thermopylae (Pavese (1995) 24) to the Isthmus (Shaw (2001)) to Sigeion (Schachter (1998)), does not bode well for the prospects of achieving consensus on internal evidence. Plutarch, who read the whole poem, might not have known where it was first performed (cf. Aloni (2001) 101). In any event, Simonides' citation of Homeric precedent (11.15–28 W) as a parallel for his own authorial ambitions entails that assuming the perspective 'del pubblico a cui il carne era destinato' (Sbardella (2000) 6) involves taking a broad perspective not limited to any single community. ἐν Σπάρτῃ (Pind. *P.* 1.77) might suggest that the 'Plataea Elegy' was first performed in Sparta (VII.2.B).

Theban cult for the war dead, not securely attested for this period. Fearn (2007) stresses the necessity of reading 'in context' (2) and interprets various poems in the context of local politics. Kowalzig (2007) 8 studies cultic lyric 'as a form of social practice operating in the here and now'. Neumann-Hartmann (2009) attempts to ascertain the original performance setting of every epinician. Morgan (2015) makes 'an effort to read Pindar's poetry for Hieron of Syracuse through the lens of its Sicilian, and specifically Syracusan, context' (1).

It is significant that the last paragraph contains several quotes from introductions like this one.⁶ It is emphatically not the case that these scholars deny that Pindar's odes addressed audiences beyond their first performances, but rather that they place the focus of their studies on the first performance. Even Morrison (2007a), whose interests come close to mine, dedicates the longest chapter of his monograph to 'the premier and the primary audience' (41). This work instead puts the rhetoric and realities of literary permanence at the centre of an interpretation of Pindar's poetry.

I follow in a line of recent scholarship focused on reperformance, and my debts to those who have written about this topic will, I hope, be readily apparent throughout this work.⁷ I also share some interests with some monographs published since the doctorate that forms its basis was completed. Maslov (2015), Phillips (2016), and Sigelman (2016) often are, in various and sometimes complementary ways, concerned with moving beyond themes which have formed mainstays of Pindaric studies over the last several decades. This monograph, too, seeks to broaden the scope of discussion. This introduction sketches a few potential problems facing a strongly performance-oriented approach, outlines an approach to some larger issues, and then broaches the question of how Pindaric epinician related to its public.

⁶ Calame (1997) 9 writes of early Greek lyric that 'defined as poetry of occasion, in contrast to modern poetry, it assumes a definite social function and can only be understood by reference to the circumstances of its creation . . . it has to be understood as a social act.' Kurke (2013) 103 writes that 'it is essential to locate all of our preserved Greek poetic texts in their specific, local performative contexts.' Caciagli (2014) opens with the claim that 'individuare il contesto performativo di un carme della Grecia arcaica è decisivo per l'interpretazione del suo contenuto' (57).

⁷ Hunter and Uhlig (2017) reached me just as this work was due to the press. I regret that I have been unable to take into account the many highly relevant essays in that volume.

Many works aim to study Pindar ‘in context’. As Most (1994) 132 writes, ‘in the most general terms, interpretation is nothing other than recontextualisation.’ A focus on immediate contexts of performance can occlude larger contexts of literary culture as a broadly shared and historically situated cultural practice.⁸ This context shaped the experience of various audiences to a considerable degree and is in some ways more easily recoverable through available evidence. We can say a great deal about the literary culture behind Pindar’s odes in large part because Pindar himself has a great deal to say on the subject.⁹ These poems provide a rich and relatively understudied source of evidence for a literary culture stretching through time and space. Studying them within this literary culture rather than the immediate circumstances of their production and initial reception might lead one to different and incompatible conclusions or elucidate other facets of complex realities. One of the goals of this work is to contextualize within literary history Pindar’s project of creating works that could be decontextualized from their first performance. These poems belonged to many contexts, and we cannot fully understand them in any single pragmatic context without understanding that.

‘Literature’ and the ‘literary’ are important concepts for me. Following some contemporary analytical philosophers of art, I take literature to be an institutional practice.¹⁰ The practice of literature in Pindar’s day differed from the practice of literature as we know it today. By referring to his odes as literature, I rely on those threads of conceptual and historical continuity that enable me in quotidian conversation to tell non-classicists that I study ancient Greek literature and enable them to understand something of what I do. At the same time, approaching literature as a practice without any single

⁸ Feeney (1998) 141: ‘we must beware of making those other contexts “primary” and “real”, with literature “secondary” and “unreal”; for literature is itself, so to speak, another context.’

⁹ Bowra (1964) 1: ‘no Greek poet says so much as Pindar about his art.’

¹⁰ Lamarque and Olsen (1994) 255–6: ‘a text is identified as a literary work by recognizing the author’s intention that the text is produced and meant to be read within the framework of conventions defining the practice (constituting the institution) of literature . . . An institutional practice, as we understand it, is *constituted* by a set of conventions and concepts which both regulate and *define* the actions and products involved in the practice.’ Cf. Lamarque (2009) 57–66, (2010). Feeney (2016) 175 writes that ‘literature is an institutional structure with its own transformative formal and social power.’

timeless essence but with its own history can provide a suitably flexible framework for understanding change over time.¹¹ I am primarily interested in Pindar as a participant in the practice of literature and as a witness to its history. This is by no means the only reason to be interested in these texts, and I make no claim to comprehensiveness.

Speaking of a 'literary culture' surrounding Pindar's odes might strike some as anachronistic. The performance-oriented approach tends to operate with a certain more-or-less explicit conception of large-scale literary history in the background. Archaic lyric, including Pindar, is often emplotted in narratives tracing the rise of 'book poetry' from older, less familiar poetry that 'realised its primary function in actual life rather than in what we mean by literature' (Fraenkel (1957) 30).¹² 'There is good reason, here as elsewhere, to resist the attractions of grand literary-historical narratives' (Currie (2016) 25). Such stories contain some truth, but also some distortion.¹³ Our overarching ideas about how Pindar's poems fit into larger literary histories will play a key role in determining critical agendas and also filter down so as to affect fine-grained questions of interpretation. Scholars focus on the performance occasions of early lyric in part because this is perceived as a feature differentiating such texts from later poetry, such as Callimachus *Hymn* 2 and Catullus 61, which imagines a fictionalized occasion.¹⁴ As a result of this tendency, we might underestimate the degree to which Pindar's occasions are

¹¹ A different understanding of literature plays a central role in Maslov (2015), who is also interested in change and writes that 'the Pindaric moment . . . marks a transformation of verbal art as such, when "literature" became, in many ways, what we now understand it to be' (8).

¹² Bernardini (1983) 39: 'una svolta nell'interpretazione della poesia pindarica si è avuta quando l'epinicio è stato studiato non più alla stregua di un componimento poetico concepito per la lettura, ma come un'opera destinata alla pubblica *performance* di fronte ad un uditorio predisposto all'ascolto'. The first words of Gentili (1988) 3 are 'Greek poetry differed profoundly from modern poetry.' Kurke (2000) is subtitled 'The strangeness of "song culture"'.
¹³ Cameron (1995) 72 speaks of a tendency to 'romanticize the otherness' of archaic poetry; cf. Morrison (2007b) 37–8. Williams (1993) 1–4 discusses the approaches of familiarizing or exoticizing antiquity.

¹⁴ A passage which Rösler (1983) 23–4 selects to illustrate the gulf between 'performative' and 'book' poetry, Hor. *Carm.* 1.19.13–16, may in fact echo a recently recovered archaic model, perhaps Anacreon: *θύω[με]ν Ἀφροδ[ίτην]* (P. Mich. Inv. 3498 +3250b recto col. ii.13; see Borges and Sampson (2012) 18 with Henry *apud* Bernsdorff (2014) 10 for the reading adopted here). If true, this might be thought indicative of larger problems with Rösler's thesis.

fictionalized. Unlike book poetry, according to a common story, early lyric addresses a definite, immediate audience, not an indefinite public through time and space. As a result of this tendency, we might neglect Pindar's indefinite secondary audiences.

Scholars emplot Pindar into their literary histories, but the poet had his own narrative understanding of the poetic past, which has not been adequately explored (see Part Two). Within his work he already looks back to vanished, simpler days of spontaneous, unmediated performance poetry, when poems lived in more organic symbiosis with pragmatic occasions.¹⁵ The implication is that he is up to something very different. I think that he really was.

Considering the importance of our own literary histories and periodization, one might muse on the stakes of, somewhat arbitrarily, labelling Pindar as early classical rather than, as often, late archaic. I for one am repeatedly surprised to remember that his career evidently overlapped with Euripides' career for nearly a decade if not more.¹⁶ It is a curious fact, and one with its own institutional history, that in contemporary scholarship Pindar is more often set alongside and explained through Homeric epic and a conjecturally reconstructed Indo-European heritage than, say, Aeschylus or Aristophanes or Herodotus. Classicists would do well to have our tidy sense of periodization, re-enforced as it is by institutional and professional factors, shaken up a bit.¹⁷ Whereas the performance-oriented approach tends to connect Pindar with older lyric, I will also draw comparisons with later poets, including Aristophanes, Callimachus, and Horace. There is good reason to believe that these authors, who often allude to Pindar, understood their authorial projects to be analogous to his in some salient respects. I do not think that they were wrong in doing so. Many poetological tropes common in later authors, and especially those relating to poetic permanence, trace their way back to Pindar.¹⁸ My intention in citing and comparing later authors, however, is not to

¹⁵ See VI.3 on *Olympian* 10 and VIII.2.C on *Isthmian* 2.

¹⁶ Euripides' *Peliades* is dated to 455. Pindar's *Pythian* 8 was composed for a victory won in 446. In the absence of strong evidence to the contrary, I assume that the manuscript date is reliable. It is improbable that Pindar's latest dateable epinician was the latest poem in the Alexandrian edition of his work.

¹⁷ Hayot (2011) 744: 'period is the untheorized ground of the possibility of literary scholarship. And so we live with its limitations and blind spots.'

¹⁸ Cf. e.g. F. Cairns (1984) 106 on Theocritus and Wright (2010) 182 on Euripides. The influence of Simonides will have been far greater than we can now ascertain.

illustrate Pindar's influence, which was obviously immense, but rather to try to win a sharper sense of how his rhetoric functions and to expand our perceptions of its capabilities. The actual early reception of Pindar's poetry can often help us to understand his poetics. I embrace later ancient poets as fellow interpreters of Pindar, albeit of a very different sort. Horace is not a colleague, but he too was reading Greek lyric closely. One recurrent concern of this work is to argue that various dynamics which we are accustomed to see at work in later literature were already 'up and running' in Pindar's day.

The poetics of canonicity are central to Pindar's poems, at least on my reading. It might strike some as anachronistic or misleading to apply such terms. The concept of the canon has its own long, complicated, and much-studied history. I use the adjective 'canonical' to describe poems widely known and long preserved because of their perceived value. Pindar concisely connects these basic ideas in a generalization that follows on a description of the reception of Homeric epic: *τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἔρπει | εἴ τις εὖ εἴπηι τι*, 'for that thing goes forth with immortal voice if someone says something well' (I. 4.40-1). As the following lines make clear, Pindar's epinician hopes to achieve this sort of dissemination and permanence (43-5). I find the concept of canonicity helpful for thinking about that hope.

Whereas historicism before Bundy often introduced or invented an external datum to elucidate a problematic text, newer historical arguments tend to posit further layers of meaning in addition to the lucid surface meaning of the text.¹⁹ Thus Pavlou (2010a) interprets a reference to the Pillars of Heracles in *Olympian* 3 (43-4) as simultaneously a common rhetorical topos and also an allusion to a particular architectural motif from a temple in Acragas. Arguments about specific circumstances surrounding the odes sometimes face problems of over-determination. Bury (1892) 43, for example, interprets the imperfect *πέμπεν*, 'he sent' (I. 2.16), by positing that the Delphic officials sent a crown to Xenocrates, who died before it reached him. The imperfect would be intelligible against this background, but it is not licit to infer this background from the imperfect. The imperfect is idiomatic with verbs of sending.²⁰ Bury's interpretation is not impossible, but it does not find adequate support. Much the same may be said of Bornemann's (1886) thesis that Sogenes, the honorand of *Nemean* 7,

¹⁹ Cf. Kurke (1991) 10, Pfeijffer (1999a) 5.

²⁰ Cf. Braswell (1988) 203-4, 258, Hummel (1993) 240 with further references.

died of sunstroke (cf. lines 70–3). Similar objections could be brought against the more plausible and more recent suggestion that the end of *Nemean* 7 may be ‘a statement that the Euxenidae have an excellent working theoric relationship with Neoptolemos and his north-western associates, unlike some other Aeginetan rivals’ (Fearn (2011b) 201). Pindar’s odes may well have communicated in esoteric ways with their first audiences, but it can prove difficult for us to show convincingly that they do so. Simpler explanations may lie to hand. Our toolkit should include the penetrating scalpel of detailed circumstantial reconstruction as well as other, blunter instruments of reasoning.

The problem with some learned attempts to recover specific circumstances surrounding Pindar’s poems is not that their conclusions are demonstrably false but rather that they are too fragile to inspire robust confidence.²¹ Kurke (2007) 65 takes ‘an imaginative reconstruction’ of the performance context of the second *Partheneion* as the subject for an article which draws on indirect evidence roughly a millennium younger than Pindar and which involves the restoration of a papyrus fragment. As ‘imaginative’ implies, such a reconstruction based on a sparse and lacunose historical record poses a particular set of challenges. Fine-grained historical arguments by no means have a monopoly on speculation, and much of what I will have to say is, inevitably, speculative; the important point is that we should remember to take into account the incomplete state of the evidentiary basis on which we must build our arguments as best we can.

Some studies focus not on specific circumstances but rather on broader ideological and intellectual structures which united Pindar and his fifth-century audiences.²² A historically inflected study of Pindar’s relationship to his various audiences might help to explain why a rhetorical approach to his poems, sometimes unjustly labelled ahistorical, has such remarkably robust explanatory power, which is widely acknowledged in theory and still more widely acknowledged in practice. The long history of modern Pindaric scholarship may be broadly characterized in large part as an ongoing conversation between formalists and contextualists;²³ a study of Pindar’s formal rhetoric within the broad historical context of archaic literary culture

²¹ Cf. Perkins (1992) ch. 6.

²² E.g. Kurke (1991) ch. 7.

²³ See Young (1970) for the standard account, which stops roughly at the point in time when this introduction picks up the story, and also Krummen (1990) 10–30.

might be able to escape this dichotomy and move in new directions.²⁴ Rather than trying to get at fine-grained contexts behind Pindar's rhetoric, I often take the surface-level meaning of that rhetoric as evidence for the contours of a historical literary culture in which his odes participated. I am trying to reconcile and bring into dialogue historical and literary perspectives in one particular way.

Besides potential methodological problems with a strongly performance-based approach to Pindar's audience, there is also the more basic and interesting question of its suitability to the texts. According to Pfeijffer (1999a) 10, 'the impact of a Pindaric ode on subsequent audiences can be compared to a pebble that is thrown into a pond, causing concentric circles of rippling water, the intensity of which decreases the further away one gets from the centre.' Here the research programme is determined: a scholar's task is to return as far as possible to the moment of first performance—perhaps fifteen minutes around 2,500 years ago. Such an approach not only attributes insufficient weight to secondary audiences but also occludes how first and subsequent audiences' awareness of other perspectives constitutes an important part of how these poems worked and still work in a variety of settings. The interplay between performance and reception that has occupied some recent scholarship also interested the poet. While many scholars posit a fundamental divide between initial and subsequent audiences, Pindar makes his various audiences acutely aware of one another. The interaction between their views is fundamental to the odes' economy of meaning. Scholars situate Pindar's poems in a specific time and place; he worked to enable his poems to travel through space and time. Any attempt to understand what an ode meant in one particular time and place must take this into account.

Part One articulates a fresh understanding of Pindar's audiences and their importance to his work. Chapter I lays the groundwork by showing how Pindar's epinicians, despite being true occasional poetry, take into account audiences beyond their first performance. Chapter II interprets *Isthmian* 4 in order to bring out the Janus-faced nature of Pindar's epinicians as simultaneously both events and

²⁴ Cf. Fearn (2013) 231: 'the contextualizing manoeuvre involves a drive towards specificity, in terms of sensitivity to the specifics of individual times and places.' There is no necessary logical connection between contextualization and a high degree of specificity.

artefacts. Fully understanding the victory odes, I argue, involves simultaneously assuming the perspectives of both their initial and their subsequent audiences. Chapter III examines how epinicians trace their own journey from unrepeatable event to perpetuated artefact and draws conclusions about the shape of the literary culture behind Pindar's odes. Chapter IV describes different ways in which the poetics of permanence matter for understanding the epinicians as literature. Chapter V expands the scope of inquiry beyond epinician to Pindar's other genres and to earlier Greek lyric.

Before we turn to the texts, a final prefatory word is in order about the poetic ego of the victory odes. The Pindaric speaking voice is a rhetorical construct.²⁵ I am not committed to the proposition that the speaker has the same identity across the epinician corpus or throughout every possible context of its reception or even that there is necessarily in each passage a single correct identification of the speaker. I am interested not in unmasking the speaker but in understanding the words spoken. The same utterance (e.g. 'I love you') can mean something different depending on who utters it in what context. I take the speaker of a passage to be the person(s) whose identification as speaker makes best sense of the passage within the overarching context of the poem and the conventions which shape it.

My actual practice is simple and traditional. I routinely refer to the speaker as Pindar. The Pindar who emerges from the texts is not straightforwardly identifiable with the flesh-and-blood Pindar of Thebes but neither is he fully separable from that historical individual. His basic identifying features are that he is a well-known and inspired poet responsible for the composition of the text. Since my work is primarily concerned with how Pindar's poems situate themselves in relation to their audiences and in relation to other poetry, it tends to concentrate on passages in which the authorial speaking voice makes a robust contribution to their meaning; I do not have much to say about those passages in which the speaker has been most plausibly thought to exclude the poet.

²⁵ See, most recently, Lattmann (2017), who cites earlier scholarship and aims to 'demonstrate that there is no Pindar in Pindar' (124). I am not convinced. For more detailed discussion of the speaking voice inside and outside the epinicians see V.1 and VII.2.

I

Secondary Audiences

Regarding the early reception and textual history of Pindar's epinicians, the first thing to know is that comparatively little is known.¹ Discussions of archaic dissemination often proceed on the basis of a meagre external historical record or by a comparative method. The former approach sometimes assigns substantial weight to later anecdotes of dubious provenance and questionable historical value. The latter approach sometimes draws parallels with other cultures that exhibit enough variety among themselves to undermine confidence in the method.

The scant external evidence for Pindar's early reception has been repeatedly sifted since Irigoin (1952) and Herington (1985). More might be said about how the texts themselves anticipate and elicit an extended reception. Pindar's poems provide the most direct and most abundant source of evidence for the nature of his audience. We do not have better evidence for the circulation of poetry in this period than four papyrus rolls' worth of poetry discussing its own circulation. As in other matters, our first principle here should be *Πίνδαρον ἐκ Πινδάρου σαφηνίζειν*, 'to clarify Pindar from Pindar' (Gildersleeve (1910) 485).

The very fact that Pindar frequently, coherently, and confidently discusses his own secondary reception is strong evidence that he could envision a wide diffusion and lasting afterlife for his poetry.² Whatever else it might be, an epinician is an attempt to persuade the

¹ Irigoin (1952) 1–28 remains fundamental. See further Herington (1985) 41–57, Carey (1995) 85–90, Loscalzo (2003) ch. 2, Currie (2004), Hubbard (2004), Morrison (2007a) ch. 3, (2012).

² E.g. *O.* 9.21–7, *N.* 5.1–6, *I.* 4.40–5. Many common poetological metaphors stress durability and the ability to travel: Steiner (1986) 122–35, Ford (2002) ch. 4 and 5, Loscalzo (2003) ch. 3, Calame (2012).

largest possible audience that this poem should be remembered and the victory thereby glorified. Δόξαν... πεισίμβροτον, 'fame that persuades mortals' (B. 9.1–2), encapsulates something essential about this genre. It would be easier to list epinicians that do not somehow refer to future reception than to list those that do. Poetic immortality is a key theme central to the logic of many odes; on a very basic level these poems are in large part about their own reception. Pindar may exaggerate, but to be effective rhetoric his exaggerations must be grounded in reality.³ We should be cautious in drawing inferences about the real world from the text-worlds of his poems, but it would be wrongheaded to separate the two categorically. These poems do not belong entirely to a dream world. Patron and poet both had pragmatic reasons to hope that compositions bearing their names and reputations would prove popular and durable. This prospect of renown was, after all, probably a chief justification for the expense of hiring a poet of Pindar's prestige in the first place. Patrons are repeatedly lauded for their foresight in realizing their mortality and spending to excel in the games and also to hire a poet who could secure their glory.⁴ To put it simply, fame is the basic point both in competing in the games (O. 8.64) and in commissioning an epinician to celebrate victory in the games (N. 7.11–13, B. 10.9–14). For Pindar's patrons an extended reception was probably central to the pragmatic functions of his poems from the start; a strong opposition between the pragmatic 'real-world' work of a poem and its ambitions to later 'literary' reception would be misguided.

The context of a widespread literary culture that remembers and values poems, to which Pindar refers time and again, is more likely to have in fact existed than many of the other more specific contexts that have been conjectured on the basis of posited indirect allusions. Pindar's oft-expressed hopes to immortalize his subject should be taken seriously. If his poems do not seem suited to accomplishing this goal, then it may be that we should revise our assumptions about how and why poems won dissemination rather than discounting our best evidence for dissemination.

³ Carey (2007) 209: 'the aspiration was sufficiently plausible to prompt commissions.' Contrast Burnett (1985) 78, who sees Pindar's references to future fame as related to a certain 'daimonic success-magic'.

⁴ P. 1.92–4, N. 7.11–13, 17–18 with Most (1985a) 144–7, I. 1.40–5, Pavese (1966) 108–10. According to epinician ideology, wealth is a resource for fuelling achievement and winning fame: Carson (1984), Kurke (1991) 183–94.

Other forms of internal evidence support an approach to Pindar that takes account of secondary audiences. Pindar depicts earlier poets as absorbed in the praise and blame of their contemporaries but creating works valued by later generations,⁵ including Pindar and his contemporaries, and even *intending* to have their works be so valued. Pindar's Homer creates poems *λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν*, 'for later men to play' (*I.* 4.39). The infinitive is final and attributes to Homer an intention to achieve poetic permanence. Pindar may well have understood his own authorial project much as he understood the projects of his poetic predecessors. Indeed, in *Isthmian* 4 Homer serves as an explicit model for Pindar's own ambitions (43–5).

The very shape of Pindar's career is perhaps unthinkable without positing an overarching context of a broadly shared literary culture in which works travel far past their debut performance and last long past their first utterance. The geographical distribution of his commissions, from Abdera to Africa, from Rhodes to Acragas, implies that a widespread reputation already preceded him during his lifetime. This point of pride is self-consciously reflected within his work. At the end of *Olympian* 1 Pindar prays thus: ἐμέ τε τοσσάδε νικαφόροις | ὀμιλεῖν πρόφαντον σοφαίᾳ καθ' Ἑλλανας ἔόντα παντᾶι, 'as long as I live may I mingle with victors and be pre-eminent in skill among Hellenes everywhere' (115b–16). The two halves of this prayer are causally related: it is *because* of his widely recognized poetic excellence that the poet will win commissions and mingle with victors throughout the Greek world, just as he has won this commission from the Sicilian Hieron, who is presented as a singular judge of literary quality (104; see VII.2). It is reasonable to posit that in commissioning a Pindaric victory ode far-flung patrons sought a new iteration of a known product. The poet's widespread reputation will have been based on the widespread travels of his poems.

The epinician genre in particular and choral lyric generally, like its literary dialect, were not the property of any single community but stemmed from and constituted a Hellenic tradition. As the Theban Pindar and the Cean Bacchylides draw on essentially the same linguistic heritage, so they depend on a shared grammar of convention to communicate with a broad public versed in a generic repertoire. Differences between poems, however, are as telling as similarities.

⁵ Consider the description of earlier erotic poets at *I.* 2.1–5 and the description of Archilochus at *P.* 2.54–6.

Despite fundamental congruencies between the subjects celebrated and the themes treated in extant epinician, among around sixty surviving specimens no two Pindaric or Bacchylidean victory odes narrate the same myth at substantial length.⁶ This suggests that patrons and poets were aware of other compositions and desired a unique memorial.⁷ On the smallest scale, a remarkable dearth of substantive verbal repetition in the Pindaric corpus reinforces the impression of an artist highly conscious of a body of work and at pains not to repeat himself.⁸ 'In constructing a particular poem, Pindar is also keenly aware of his other poems' (Race (1990) 187). This must be because he expected that at least some among his audiences would also be aware of at least some of his other poems.

Pindar's poems strongly suggest that some were expected to be familiar with works first performed in different locations. *Isthmian* 1 refers to the interrupted composition of a paean for the Ceans (3–10). We probably know the finished work as *Paeon* 4.⁹ This poem, like the prologue of *Isthmian* 1, deals with the power of proprietary affection for one's homeland (13–53). The extended treatment of this theme is

⁶ Genre seems important. The myths of *Nemean* 7 and *Paeon* 6 (Erbse (1999) 22–4) and also of *Nemean* 1 and fr. 52u (Braswell (1992) 55) are far more similar than those of any two extant epinicians. Note also B. 5 and Pind. fr. 249a. Pindar can contradict older versions of myths (e.g. *O.* 1.36), but there is a degree of internal consistency between his own myths that looks deliberate. Note, for example, ἀρχαίωι κάματι παρ Πέλοπος (*O.* 10.24) and (sc. Pelops) τύμβον ἀμφίπολον ἔχων πολυῖενωτάτῳ παρὰ βρωμῳι (*O.* 1.93). These poems were composed for victories in the same Olympiad.

⁷ A contrast between Pindar's ode and Archilochus' proto-epinician, appropriate for every victory (*O.* 9.1–12), suggests that uniqueness was consciously prized. Cf. *O.* 3.4–6, 9.48–9, *N.* 8.20–1, *I.* 5.62; contrast the clichéd ready-made lyric at *Ar. Av.* 905–10.

⁸ ὥς ἄρ' αὐδάσαντος (*P.* 4.232, *N.* 10.89, both at line beginning); μελιγάρνεις ὕμνοι (*O.* 11.4, *P.* 3.64, both at line end). The former is an exception that proves the rule: it illustrates how readily a colourless phrase fits into Pindar's common dactylo-epitritic rhythm. Such phrases capping character speech are among the most formulaic elements of *epos*. A comparison with Attic tragedy suggests that Pindar's avoidance of repetition is not simply a reflex of writing (cf. Parry (1971) 285–98). In Bacchylides note δι[ι]ᾶντα φωνίξει[ν] Κ[κ]άμανδρ[ον] (13.164–5 = 27.36). Some Pindaric verbal echoes look like pointed auto-allusions: *O.* 1.1–7 and 3.42–5; *N.* 5.1 and *I.* 2.45–6; *Pae.* 7b.18–20 and 9.1–4. For some other poets' auto-citations see Hubbard (1991) 33–40. The technique is as at least as old as Hesiod (*Op.* 11, looking back to and correcting *Theog.* 225).

⁹ Privitera (1982) 139, Bona (1988) 6, Rutherford (2001a) 284, D'Alessio (2009b) 146. *Paeon* 4 performed on Ceos, not Delos: Grenfell and Hunt (1908b) 18, Rutherford (2000) 609–10, (2001a) 292–3; contrast Käppel (1992) 141–51.

not common in Pindar and Bacchylides. One may suppose that these two poems are designed to be interpreted alongside each other. Pindar encourages his audiences to do so: ἀμφοτερᾶν τοι χαρίτων ἐν θεοῖς ζεύξω τέλος, ‘with the gods’ help I will yoke together the completion of both poems’ (I. 1.6), implies a substantial relationship between two works. On the reading urged here, the ‘yoking together’ of the two poems will express not only completing them both but also bringing them into a meaningful relationship with each other.¹⁰ Unless one supposes that Pindar played a strange sort of intertextual solitaire with himself, it would follow that at least some among his public were expected to be familiar both with an epinician performed in Thebes and a paean performed on Ceos (or perhaps Delos). Together these paired poems celebrate a unifying human dedication to one’s particular home and meditate on the universality of localism: ‘what is dearer to [all] noble men than their cherished parents?’ (τί φίλτερον κεδνῶν τοκέων ἀγαθοῖς; I. 1.5; cf. *Pae.* 4.28–30, fr. 215a.2–3).

A range of internal evidence suggests that Pindar’s odes took account of secondary audiences. Would such audiences have cared about, appreciated, and understood his occasional poetry? The crucial question is to what degree extratextual factors inevitably lost after first performance really are, as Cole (1992) 13 asserts, an ‘essential ingredient in the success of any Greek victory ode’. We require, first of all, a definition of epinician success, something which Cole does not provide. Any assertion about ‘the’ purpose of Pindar’s poetry will inevitably be reductive,¹¹ but among the most frequently stated goals of his epinicians is to transcend the circumstances of initial performance and become a lasting memorial. Are the odes built to succeed at this self-assigned task? As D’Alessio (2009a) 117 writes, discussing early lyric generally, ‘the fact itself that the poems have been preserved suggests that in most cases the texts that have survived were capable of “working” in more than one context’ (cf. D’Alessio (2007) 96). The documented interest in Pindar’s epinicians from the fifth century onwards to this monograph is the best evidence for their robust

¹⁰ Contrast, most recently, Maslov (2015) 255. ζεύξω (I. 1.6) cannot be an ‘encomiastic future’ realized with its utterance: the composition of the paean, interrupted by recent victory, has not yet been completed (τέλος, 6).

¹¹ E.g. Crotty (1982) 106: ‘the purpose of the epinicians is to secure a proper reception of the victor upon his return to the community.’

capabilities as instruments of memorialization.¹² The ability of these texts to interest and engage those distant from their first performances is a datum in need of explanation, not a theory requiring proof. ‘Art works may not be timeless,’ writes Felski (2015) 161, ‘but they are indisputably—in their potential to resonate in different moments—time-full.’

Looking more closely at the texts, one can see how Pindar’s epinicians anticipate and accommodate secondary audiences. The following sections examine types of knowledge necessary for understanding the poems: first, knowledge of debut performance contexts; secondly, knowledge of external data including public history, individual circumstances, and mythological traditions. The conclusion emerges that knowledge available to debut audiences but unavailable to secondary audiences is largely inessential for understanding and appreciating Pindar’s poetry.¹³

1. KNOWLEDGE OF FIRST PERFORMANCE

‘In its longevity, song outweighs the revel’ (Bundy (1986) 2 n. 9). But Pindar’s song also carries the revel into the future. His epinicians are true occasional poetry. Unlike narrative hexameter epic, which in a sense is never the first iteration of its traditional theme,¹⁴ epinician presents itself as the record of a unique, unrepeatable occasion, which will be remembered as such. The ‘occasion’ is less victory and more the choral celebration of victory, which Pindar often refers to as a *κῶμος*, ‘revel’.¹⁵ This moment features prominently. Occasionality

¹² Comedy: Kugelmeier (1996) index s.v. Pindar; tragedy: Bagordo (2003) 166–218, Swift (2010) 112–15, Carey (2012); Herodotus: Donelli (2016); Hellenistic poetry: Fuhrer (1992), Kampakoglou (2013). The relative dearth of extensive and detailed references to archaic lyric in Athenian tragedy is better explained by the nature of the tragic genre rather than the ignorance of tragic poets (cf. Ion of Chios *BNJ* 392 F6).

¹³ Contrast Krummen (1990) 4: ‘der Sprechende macht sich eine bestimmte Vorstellung vom Wissen des Gesprächspartners, auf dessen Hintergrund er argumentiert. Es ist dieses “Wissen”, das der Leser Pindars teilen muß, um die Gedichte zu verstehen.’

¹⁴ Cf. *ἐπὶ καὶ ἡμῖν*, ‘tell us, too’ (*Od.* 1.10), Bakker (1993b) 11, Tsagalis (2011) 225.

¹⁵ See Eckerman (2010) and Agócs (2012); cf. Simon. 519 fr. 1. col. ii.2: *ἐϋφρονα κωμῷ*]; Ibyc. S178 with scholia: *. νεπικωμῷ*].

is characteristic of Greek lyric from Alcman onwards, but this genealogical explanation should not occlude how important occasionality is to the aesthetics of Pindar's poems, which are imbued by the vivid charms of specificity and urgency. Their occasion 'has acquired so permanent a form that, even without being realised or understood, it is still part of the total meaning' (Gadamer (1975) 125).

To a high degree, however, the occasion is capable of being realized and understood by secondary audiences. Descriptions of performance function not as transparent windows onto reality but rather as meaningful parts of a composition. 'Because that is what happened' is never an adequate explanation of why the text describes its own first performance. *Nemean* 1, for example, was presumably in fact performed outside Chromius' house, but this does not explain why the speaker says as much (19–24):

ἔσταν δ' ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις
 ἀνδρὸς φιλοξείνου καλὰ μελπόμενος,
 ἔνθα μοι ἄρμόδιον
 δεῖπνον κεκόσμηται, θαμὰ δ' ἀλλοδαπῶν
 οὐκ ἀπείρατοι δόμοι
 ἐντί.

I stand at the courtyard gates of a host who loves guest-friends as I sing of his noble deeds, where a suitable feast has been prepared for me. This home is not without experience of frequent visitors from abroad.

The celebratory feast to be enjoyed inside Chromius' house following performance concretely substantiates the following praise of his generosity (22–4). This feast also connects with a closing mention of the celebratory marriage feast, marking his acquisition of immortality, which Heracles enjoyed in Zeus's house (γάμον | δαΐσαντα, 71–2).¹⁶ The occasion of performance, drawn into the poem, is transmuted from an ephemeral event into a symbol of attained permanence. This could stand for the role of the occasion in all Pindaric epinician.

References to performance are frequent and detailed enough to mark it as a memorable event and a part of the meaning of an ode, but not so obtrusive or opaque so as to constitute an insurmountable obstacle to the involvement and understanding of secondary audiences. Pervasive ambiguity and vagueness about setting, execution, and speaking voice may be explained in part through an orientation

¹⁶ Compare and contrast Slater (1984) 249–51.

towards secondary audiences.¹⁷ Power (2000) 71 writes that ‘if the epinician ode is not itself pre-programmed for oblivion, its choral performance unavoidably is.’ Unregulated, organic reperformances probably took a robust variety forms, most if not all without a full choral accompaniment of music and dance.¹⁸ The texts seldom describe such activity. The fact that some scholars have hypothesized, albeit unconvincingly, that the epinicians were performed by a soloist, not a chorus, evinces the relative unimportance of chorality.¹⁹ References to the words and voice of the poet and those who first performed the poem, in a sense reactivated in every act of reception, greatly outnumber references to dance and music. At a basic level, the created world of epinician imagery is far more vivid, absorbing, and pervasive than the ‘real’ world of performance depicted within the text. Pindar’s epinicians are obviously in large about themselves and about language, albeit in a very different sense from that which is familiar to us from modernist and contemporary poetics.

Pindar’s poems are more interested in their later reception and less interested in their first performance than much of what has been written about them in recent decades. The epinicians generally neither transmit nor presume extensive knowledge of their first performance. There are no explicit appeals to deixis *ad oculos* like those found in poems addressing imagined or real spectators.²⁰ A video recording of the first performance of *Nemean* 5 might conceivably help us choose more confidently to read *φέρε*, ‘bring’, in line 54 (Wilamowitz convincingly; *φέρειν* MSS), but I doubt that it would. A comparison with comedy is suggestive. The meaning of the deictic at Aristophanes *Frogs* 1504 was clear to those who attended the first performance of the play in 405 but is not identified in our text: *καὶ δὲ τοῦτ’ ἔλεοφῶντι φέρων*, ‘bring this and give it to Cleophon’ (cf. Dover (1993) 382). Because the epinician occasion is largely stereotyped,

¹⁷ Cf. Slater (1984) 241, K. A. Morgan (1993) 12, Carey (2007) 199, Morrison (2007a) 129–30, Agócs (2012) 119–20.

¹⁸ Cf. Hubbard (2004) 86–9, Currie (2004) 51–5, Morrison (2011a) 232–3. It is easy enough to imagine why certain interested parties might stage a choral re-performance, but no firm evidence for the phenomenon survives: compare and contrast Currie (2004) 63–9, (2011) 58.

¹⁹ Heath (1988), Lefkowitz (1988), Heath and Lefkowitz (1991).

²⁰ *ἦ οὐχ ὀρήεις*; (Alcm. 1.50); *αὐγάζδεο* (anon. 870 PMG, Spartan *trichoria*); *ἦν ἰδοῦ* (Pratinas 708.14 PMG); *οὐχ ὀράαις*; (Callim. *Hy.* 2.4); *videne...*? (Catull. 61.77). On deixis in lyric see, among others, Danielewicz (1990), Bonifazi (2001) 35–41, (2004), Felson (2004b), D’Alessio (2007, 2009a).

constructing the text-world of performance depends more on knowledge of genre than on knowledge of unique events.²¹

Some information about the first performance seems to be provided exclusively for secondary audiences. It is difficult to believe that the performance location, for example, is identified for the benefit of first audiences. Deictic phrases like ‘this city’, virtually an epinician formula, always follow and never precede more explicit, clearer denominations of performance location.²² Did the Aeginetans who first heard *Isthmian* 6 need to be told that Pindar meant ‘Aegina’ (Αἴγινα, 8) by ‘this island’ (τάνδ’... νᾶσον, 21)?²³

The text-world of epinician cannot be straightforwardly identified with the real world, though the two were doubtlessly related in ways which we cannot hope to recover with precision.²⁴ Many descriptions of performance cannot be treated as straightforwardly factual; some include an element of transparent fictionality.²⁵ The analysis of depictions of performance should shift away from recovering realities and towards interpreting texts. If we stop looking to the poems simply to reflect the real world, we might see deeper into the world that they create.

Pindar’s realism is a literary strategy and must be so interpreted. ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου | λάμβαν’, ‘come, take the Dorian lyre from its peg’ (O. 1.17–18), is patently not a serious order: this song has already begun; these words were probably first uttered by a chorus, not a soloist with a lyre.²⁶ As Austin (1979) 228 writes of literary texts generally, ‘if the poet says “Go and catch a falling star” or whatever it may be, he doesn’t seriously issue an order.’ ‘Take down the lyre,’ however, is importantly different from ‘go and

²¹ See Werth (1999) 96–106 on sorts of knowledge necessary for building a text-world. Gavins (2007) provides an introduction to the concept.

²² O. 5.20, 8.25, 13.27, P. 8.99, 9.91, N. 3.68, 7.83, I. 5.22, 6.21, 65. See de Jong (1993) on ‘denomination’.

²³ Cf. Currie (2012) 288–9.

²⁴ Contrast D’Alessio (2004) 269, (2009a) with Rösler (1983).

²⁵ Consider O. 1.17–18, 8.9–10, N. 3.3–5, 9.1–5, 10.21–2, I. 8.1–4; cf. Alc. 3.7–9, Agócs (2012). Nagy (1994) 19 writes that ‘only an open-ended series of actual occasions... could provide all the features of an absolutised occasion.’ I would wager that there has been no actual occasion on which a performer of *Olympian* 1 took his lyre from its peg *after* beginning his song (cf. B. fr. 20b.1–3).

²⁶ Cf. Alc. 346, Anac. 356a, 396, presumably performed at symposia in progress, not beginning. See D’Alessio (2004) 285 on the first person in Pind. O. 1.17–18. I see no strong reason to posit a choral voice here (contrast Eckerman (2011b)).

catch a star.’ The former gives the vivid impression of a real event; the latter is extravagantly fantastical.

Pindar’s realism sometimes elicits excessive literalism from scholars. This can obscure his artifice. Consider the close of *Nemean* 9 (48–55):

νεοθαλῆς δ’ αὔξεται
μαλθακῇ νικαφορία σὺν αἰοιδᾷ
θαρσαλέα δὲ παρὰ κρατῆρα φωνὰ γίνεται.
ἔγκρινάτω τίς νιν, γλυκὺν κώμου προφάταν,
ἀργυρέαισι δὲ νομάτω φιάλαισι βιατάν
ἀμπέλου παῖδ’, ὅς ποθ’ ἵπποι κτησάμεναι Χρομίωι
πέμψαν θεμιπλέκτοισι ἀμᾶ
Λατοῖδα στεφάνοις
ἐκ τᾶς ἱερᾶς Κυκωῶνος. Ζεῦ πάτερ,
εὔχομαι ταύταν ἀρετὰν κελαδῆσαι
σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν, ὑπὲρ πολλῶν τε τιμαλφεῖν λόγοις
νίκαν, ἀκοντίζων σκοποῖ’ ἄγχιστα Μοισᾶν.

Recent victory is exalted in gentle song. The voice becomes bold beside the mixing bowl. Let someone mix that sweet harbinger of the revel, and let him serve the forceful child of the vine in the silver cups which his horses once acquired for Chromius and sent to him together with the duly woven crowns of Leto’s son from holy Sicyon. Father Zeus, I pray that with the Graces’ help I may sing of that achievement and surpass many in honouring the victory in words, throwing my javelin nearest the Muses’ target.

J. S. Clay (1999) 31 writes that ‘Pindar’s dramatic depiction of a symposium in progress gains immeasurably if we find ourselves indeed at the very occasion so vividly described. Chromius’ silver cups, brimming with wine, are really in our hands as we listen to Pindar’s song.’ Scholars may soberly disagree about how much a bit of wine increases one’s appreciation of *Nemean* 9; experimentation is encouraged. But probably there were never enough commemorative silver cups for the hospitable and powerful Chromius’ many guests.²⁷ In any event, a literalist approach to performance would flatten out this poem. Emphasis on a real event in progress draws attention away from how Pindar already looks back to this event from the perspective of the future: Chromius’ victory has just recently occurred

²⁷ ἀναπεπταμένα ξείνων νενίκανται θύραι (N. 9.2); cf. N. 1.19–24, Carey (2007) 205.

(νεοθαλής... νικαφορία, 48–9), but Pindar already refers to it as something that happened ‘once upon a time’ (ποθ’, 52). The particle is probably focalized from the perspectives of audiences removed in time from first performance.²⁸ The realistic closing symposium of *Nemean* 9, moreover, is the goal of an imaginary revel, parasitic on the traditional spontaneous revel at the site of the games, that began with the beginning of the poem (Κωμάσομεν... Cικωννόθε, 1). This epinician is thus at once a spontaneous revel, a processional song, a sympotic song with poet presiding as symposiarch, and a literary artefact always already viewed from the future. Adding yet another layer of nuance, Pindar paradoxically creates a closing speaking situation *before* first performance and projects the debut of his poem into the future. The last words of the poem look forward to its first utterance as Pindar prays for the ability to do what he has done in this poem.²⁹ If we focus on real cups we might miss all that is really going on here. *Nemean* 9 is one of several odes that are interested in evoking multiple performance scenarios.³⁰ In such odes, Pindar’s first audiences, like his later audiences, must have been transported to imagined contexts.

A literal approach to the sending and arrival motifs has hampered our understanding of these tropes. Earlier scholars drafted up for Pindar itineraries around the Mediterranean based on his claim to have ‘arrived’ at various places. This approach has fallen from favour, with reason. In one and the same poem Pindar claims both to ‘arrive’ with his work and to ‘send’ his work from afar: ὕμνιν τόδε τᾶν λιπαρᾶν ἀπὸ Θηβᾶν φέρων | μέλος ἔρχομαι, ‘I come from shining Thebes bearing for you this song’ (*P.* 2.3–4); τόδε μὲν κατὰ Φοίνισσαν ἐμπολάν | μέλος ὑπὲρ πολιᾶς ἁλὸς πέμπεται, ‘this song is sent being in the manner of Phoenician merchandise over the grey sea’ (67–8). These parallel metatextual descriptions framing the main body of the poem

²⁸ Cf. Young (1983a) 41; compare and contrast Braswell (1999) 143–4. The opening image of a revel continuing from the games back to Chromius’ home makes best sense if he had won recently.

²⁹ The prayer looks forward, not backward; cf. D’Alessio (2004) 287–8. The closing lines instantiate the generalization θαρκαλέα δὲ παρὰ κρατῆρα φωνὰ γίνεται (*N.* 9.49). Pindar bids someone to serve the wine (50–3) and then prepares to sing with a bold voice (53–5). Sympotic setting for epinician: J. S. Clay (1999), Budelmann (2012), Athanassaki (2016). Note Simon. 512, adesp. 328.5 *SLG* with Trombetta (1999).

³⁰ Cf. Athanassaki (2011a) 264–5, (2012) 134, Budelmann (2012) 184, Agócs (2012) 205.

are to be brought together and compared. It is artificial, however, to chop logic to achieve coherence between them. These statements should be given their normal and mutually contradictory meaning.³¹

Many have tried in various ways to untangle fiction from reality. No one, to my knowledge, has yet observed that the arrival motif, stressing the speaker's presence, is typically connected with Pindar's poetic task as it relates to personal and religious relationships while the sending motif, stressing the chronological and spatial gap between composition and performance, is typically connected with Pindar qua celebrated professional poet who immortalizes his subject.³² Thus in *Pythian* 2 he brings his work as a dedication to Syracuse (note τέμμενος, 2) but sends it as merchandise (ἐμπολάν, 67). In *Olympian* 5 he arrives as a suppliant of Zeus (ἰκέτας ἐθέεν ἔρχομαι, 19); in *Nemean* 3 he sends his ode from afar and thereby secures the victor's glory (πέμπω, 77).

In looking to recover details about performance context from the epinicians we must be conscious that we are looking to extract information which the texts are not reliably concerned to transmit. It is significant that such efforts habitually end in uncertainty.³³ One cannot safely posit that the first performance of an epinician was connected to the cultic practices which the text describes. *Olympian* 7 mentions and, on that basis, could be connected with multiple Rhodian rites.³⁴ But Pindar's poem is not clearly associated with any established religious ritual. The poet justifies a prayer to Zeus by citing his patrons' generosity: Ἐρατιδᾶν τοι σὺν χαρίτεσσιν ἔχει | θαλίας καὶ πόλις (93–4), 'together with the celebrations of the Eratidae the city, too, has festivities.'³⁵ The victory celebrations of a family include the whole city. This might plausibly be understood to describe

³¹ Barrett (2007) 59; Tedeschi (1985) provides the fullest discussion. A λύσις ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου attributes *P.* 2.3–4 to the chorus or the poem itself. But φέρων | μέλος (3–4) can only describe a human. Epinician choruses come from the victor's community (e.g. *O.* 6.7, *I.* 8.1), not from Pindar's native Thebes (*P.* 2.3), which is often associated with him (*O.* 6.84–7, 10.85, *P.* 4.299, *I.* 1.1, 6.74–5, 8.16–16a). πέμπεται (*P.* 2.68) is unlikely to mean 'is being escorted (by me)'. The next line wishes for reception in the future as if it is to take place in the speaker's absence.

³² Arrival motif: *O.* 1.10, 4.2, 5.19, 7.13, 9.83–4, 13.96–7, *P.* 2.3–4, *N.* 4.73–5, 7.69, *I.* 6.57–8, *Pae.* 6.7–11, fr. 94b.39–41. Sending motif: *O.* 7.8, 9.25, *P.* 2.68, *N.* 3.77, *I.* 5.63, fr. 124a–b.2; cf. *P.* 4.298–9, *I.* 2.45–8.

³³ Cf. Currie (2005) 17: 'the interpretation is nearly always controversial.'

³⁴ *O.* 7.48–9, 77–80; cf. Kowalzig (2007) 225, 247, Currie (2011) 284–5.

³⁵ For the justification of an imperative through a citation of ethical conduct cf. *O.* 4.13–16, 5.4–7, *N.* 9.32–3, 10.30, 11.8–9.

the performance of *Olympian* 7 not as an annex to any established festival but rather as the centrepiece of an extraordinary celebration that, through the extraordinary generosity of the Eratidae, includes the whole citizen body.³⁶ Pindar presents himself as coming to Rhodes not to join any festival but to praise Rhodes and celebrate Diagoras' victory (*O.* 7.13–19). The only traditional practice that this epinician clearly partakes in is the genre of choral praise poetry, which forms an explicit background for the present performance (7–12).

Epinician can incorporate cultic material without partaking in cultic practice. For this genre, cult is 'good to think with'. *Isthmian* 5 incorporates itself into a tradition of cultic lyric celebrating the Aeacidae (26–38); it is not clearly connected to cultic practice except insofar as the poet says that it is. In Bacchylides 11 there are deep and meaningful parallels between Bacchylides' poem and Artemis' altar in Metapontum on the one hand and maiden choruses and Artemis' altar in Argos on the other hand (110–20). Yet Bacchylides' epinician apparently situates its performance in the city centre, not by Artemis' extra-urban altar, and was first performed by a masculine, not a feminine chorus (*νέων ... ἄστυ*, 11–12).³⁷ It might be useful to separate the question 'was an epinician first performed in context Y?' from the question 'does the poem want secondary audiences to think that an epinician was first performed in context Y?'. There is often much room for debate about both questions.

In seeking to reconstruct the circumstances of first performance we are playing a game not necessarily built to be won for stakes that might not be as high as they are sometimes taken to be. In several odes the performance setting can be discerned with considerable confidence but does not greatly shape the meaning of the text. How much does it matter that *Nemean* 4 was performed at a festival of the new moon (*νεομηνία*, 35)? To judge from scholarly interpretations, not much. *Olympian* 9 connects itself to a feast of the lesser Ajax (112). Neither the hero nor the festivities in his honour seem very

³⁶ Compare and contrast Currie (2011) 283–4, Athanassaki (2016) 94.

³⁷ Compare and contrast D. L. Cairns (2005c) 48, Kowalzig (2007) 268, Neumann-Hartmann (2009) 257, Currie (2010) 226–7. For the city streets as a locus of celebration cf. Bond (1981) 273 on Eur. *HF* 783. *κ[ατὰ]χορυ* (B. 11.11), 'fill [with sound]', may activate the spatial sense of *ἄστυ* (12).

important to this ode.³⁸ *Nemean* 10, performed at the Argive Heraea (21–3), has little to do with Hera. It has more to do with the the Tyndaridae (49–51), but it is not connected to their sacred spaces in Argos.³⁹ Finglass (2007) 29–32 convincingly objects to the theory that *Pythian* 11 was tied to the Theban daphnephoric festival.⁴⁰ The vividly described performance setting (1–10) contributes to the meaning of the poem, but if we knew far more about the real occasion behind the text, this knowledge would not resolve its issues. Every audience, including the first, is meant to be puzzled by the relevance of the central myth (38–40).

Epinician fitted into various political, civic, and institutional settings while maintaining a recognizable generic form. Pindar's odes often present themselves as both the centrepiece and a chief cause behind their occasions. There is, to my knowledge, no evidence that a victory revel (*κῶμος*) accompanied by song immediately upon or sometime after the victor's return to his home city from the games was a common traditional practice long predating Pindar.⁴¹ The processes of commissioning a poet, composing a poem, and training a chorus may well have provided the reason for holding such events. The occasion, in other words, in many cases might exist for the sake of this poetry rather than vice versa. In any event, it is probable that for many the debut of a work by a celebrated poet like Pindar *was* the occasion in a meaningful sense (VII.2).

Where does this discussion of the rhetoric of performance leave us? Pindar's epinicians are rooted in the occasions of their first performance but do not require extensive knowledge of these occasions in order to be understood or enjoyed as poetry. The odes have a complex relation to extratextual reality, hardly exhaustively studied here,

³⁸ Cf. Bernardini (1983) 153–4. Gildersleeve (1885) 201 asserts that 'the assumption of a banquet gives more point to' αἶνει δὲ παλαιὸν μὲν οἶνον, ἄνθεα δ' ὕμνων | νεωτέρων (O. 9.48–9).

³⁹ See fr. 52s, Rutherford (2001a) 425, Henry (2005) 108.

⁴⁰ Contrast Bernardini (1989), Sevieri (1997), Currie (2011) 296–7. Finglass (2007) 32 asks 'why would the poet need to evoke the place with such insistence if his audience could see it for themselves?' Discussing Hellenistic poetry, Friedländer (1931) 36 writes that 'die Wahrnehmung wird betont, gerade weil sie (groß gesagt) nich da ist.' For Pindar's secondary audiences, this would have been true of the Theban Ismenion.

⁴¹ For later practices see Neumann-Hartmann (2009) 125–7. It is true that 'many of the aspects of later victory celebrations do indeed have echoes' in Pindar and Bacchylides (Slater (1984) 242).

which is implicated in their aesthetic economy. It would be naive to believe that the epinicians provide a transparent window onto reality and simply wrongheaded to believe that they are not often interested in giving an impression of reality. ‘*The painter’s vision in not a lens,*’ writes Robert Lowell (*Epilogue*). ‘Yet why not say what happened?’

Pindar’s epinicians do not invite their audiences to weigh carefully every statement about performance for its truth value. A cooperative credulity will yield most from the texts. One may take realistic descriptions as *ipso facto* ‘real’ within the text-world of the poems. The aim here is not to uncover realities but to understand poems. These rhetorically constructed occasions, reflecting real occasions in complex and unrecoverable ways, were and are richly accessible to all of Pindar’s audiences.

2. KNOWLEDGE OF EXTERNAL REALITIES

It might be argued that poetry addressed to posterity will avoid references likely to be lost on later audiences.⁴² It is not clear that any ancient lyric satisfies this criterion. Those interested in Pindar’s epinicians as sources for different types of information will find different levels of opacity in them. One should not assume that ancient secondary audiences were all interested in the same matters as some modern scholars. A certain opaqueness may reflect a literary strategy rather than an orientation towards a parochial audience. Several have argued that Pindar creates an impression, familiar from earlier lyric, of overhearing words addressed to an immediate, knowing audience.⁴³ In reading Pindar one gets the impression that there is a fuller reality behind the text to which one has only imperfect access; at the same time one also gets the impression that this first impression is also a poetic effect. Many do not find whatever opacity there is in Pindar’s epinicians (over and above the level inherent to complex poetic communication) to be more off-putting than the

⁴² Cf. e.g. Pfeijffer (1999a) 8.

⁴³ Carey (1995) 90–2, Scodel (1996) 60–1, and Morrison (2007b) 41 discuss ‘false intimacy’ (Scodel’s term) as a literary technique in Pindar and early lyric. Cf. Hutchinson (1988) 6 and Schmitz (1999) 5 on Hellenistic poetry: ‘topicality... is not intended to exclude those without topical knowledge; quite to the contrary, it can create the feeling of belonging to the poet’s world.’ Contrast Rösler (1980) 41–5.

opacity of later authors, from Catullus to Robert Lowell, who self-consciously pursue a texture of intimate communication. The attested reception of Pindar's epinicians shows that this attitude is not an exclusively modern one. If we are to enjoy archaic Greek lyric do we, like the symposiasts listening to Old Comedy imagined by Plutarch (*quest. conv.* 711f), need a scholar in our ear to explain each personal name to us? Some real symposiasts in the fifth century evidently did not.

It is rewarding to examine in some detail the degree to which the epinicians in fact depend on their audiences' knowledge of external realities. The following discussions treat in order public matters, personal circumstances, and mythology.

A. Public matters

Pindar's odes allude to historical events, as no one, including Bundy,⁴⁴ would deny. There is much truth to Carey's (1978) 21 observation that 'when Pindar touches on contemporary events, he usually gives us all the details necessary for an understanding of their function in the poem.' Ascertaining the particulars, if such there were, behind the vague language of *P.* 1.51–2 would not greatly advance an understanding of this poem, although one might be grateful to learn something about Sicilian history: *ὅν δ' ἀνάγκαι νιν φίλον | καί τις ἔων μεγαλάνωρ ἔστανεν*, 'and even a proud sort of man by necessity fawned on him as a friend.'⁴⁵ Some odes seem to avoid linking themselves to unique historical events. Young (1971) 46 writes of *Isthmian* 7 that 'it looks as if [Pindar] purposely omitted historical details.' One could say the same of other odes.

Knowledge available to a cultured fifth-century Greek is always sufficient to understand each epinician as a coherent linear progression of thought. Less broadly shared knowledge will have added further resonances. The recent political fortunes of Himera, for instance, are probably somehow relevant to the opening prayer in *Olympian* 12: *Ἰμέραν εὐρυθενέ' ἀμφιπόλει*, '[o Tyche,] watch over mighty Himera' (2). Depending on how we elect to date the poem, this

⁴⁴ Lee (1978) 66.

⁴⁵ Compare and contrast, most recently, Morgan (2015) 331 and Nicholson (2016a) 250 n. 51.

might refer either to the city being freed from external domination or to Sicily being liberated from tyranny.⁴⁶ Some outside Himera and Sicily might well have grasped some topical background to this ode, but those ignorant of the city's political fortunes may still understand Pindar's address as adequately motivated by Tyche's role in political life in general (3–5) and the victor's experience in particular (13–16). To assert the capability of Pindar's poetry to communicate with a broad audience is not tantamount to denying the possibility that it also communicated in different ways with narrower groups.

One should not downplay the degree to which the odes presume outside knowledge. Rather than taking this as an indication of a parochial orientation, one may instead emphasize that Pindar's epinicians address knowledgeable secondary audiences and discuss subjects of broad interest. *Pythian* 7 alludes to an event about which we are relatively well informed, the story of how the Alcmaeonidae financed Apollo's temple at Delphi more than a half-century before the debut of Pindar's poem (10–11/12).⁴⁷ The fact that we know about this background from Herodotus (5.62.2–3) shows that the story was considered important in the fifth century. Indeed, Pindar himself asserts that the Alcmaeonidae enjoy a widespread reputation: *πάσαισι γὰρ πολίεσι λόγος ὀμιλεῖ* | *Ἐρεχθέος ἀστῶν, Ἄπολλον, οἷ τέον* | *δόμον Πυθῶνι δίαί θαητὸν ἔτευξαν*, 'for among all cities mingles the report about Erechtheus' citizens, Apollo, who rendered your temple in divine Pytho splendid to behold' (9–11/12; cf. *Hymn. Hom.* 3.299). The personifying *ὀμιλεῖ* (9) connotes frequency and a familiar relationship. There is a rhetorically coercive dimension to the 'everybody knows' motif, familiar to us from Athenian oratory, but rhetoric, to be persuasive, must be grounded in reality to some degree.

Herodotus (6.125.5) knows not only of the Alcmaeonidae's benefactions at Delphi but also of the family's Olympic chariot victory in 592, an event to which Pindar alludes in passing (*P.* 7.13/14–15). Athletics, the proprietary subject of epinician, was a broadly interesting topic worthy of being remembered for its own sake. As commissioned epinicians richly attest, athletics attracted extraordinary energies in Pindar's day. His poems purport to appeal because their information

⁴⁶ Contrast Catenacci (2005) and Nicholson (2016a) 237–52 with Hornblower (2004) 83–4 and Barrett (2007) 86–96.

⁴⁷ Cf. Athanassaki (2011b) 247–9.

is of concern to many. Some passages presume widespread interest in the 'news' of recent victory being promulgated (O. 9.21–5, N. 5.1–8). This is not implausible. Victory in the games is presented as memorable even independently of epinician poetry.⁴⁸ Previous victories unconnected to poetry are remembered as contributions to an enduring legacy.⁴⁹ The chronological range, geographic scope, and specificity of 'categorical vaunts' evince the care with which athletic accomplishments were remembered and compared.⁵⁰ Pindar mentions written records at the games (O. 7.86–7). Bacchylides (2.9–10) mentions seventy Isthmian victories for Ceos; he may have drawn on inscriptional records like those from the fourth century that have been discovered on the island.⁵¹ Pindar (fr. 23) compares a contemporary victor to the Naxian Tisandrus, an exceptional boxer of the sixth century (Paus. 6.18.7) who was evidently still remembered as such.

The curiosity and knowledge of Pindar's secondary audiences extended beyond athletic matters. One does not need to wait until the Hellenistic period to find an interest in the affairs and customs of other communities.⁵² We should not forget that Pindar, still composing in 446 (*Pythian* 8), was not too distant in time from Herodotus, who was writing around 430 and presumably also for a considerable time before. The poet seems generally confident that widespread audiences will care to hear about the sort of local mythical and cultic matters which his poems retail (cf. e.g. N. 5.1–5, 14–18, I. 4.37–45, 61–8). Epinicians sometimes describe matters outside the victor's city.⁵³ The Panhellenic audience at Olympia is presented as aware of Hieron's peerless political stature and wealth.⁵⁴ An ode for a Sicilian victor indirectly denominates Orchomenus, hardly the

⁴⁸ E.g. O. 8.10–11, B. 7.8–10, 9.21–4.

⁴⁹ E.g. O. 13.35–6, P. 11.46–8, N. 6.20–1.

⁵⁰ E.g. O. 13.30–1, N. 6.24–6, B. 8.22–5.

⁵¹ Cf. Jebb (1905) 186–8, Schmidt (1999), Fearn (2011c) 220–1.

⁵² The narrator of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* assumes that audiences outside Delos will be interested in Delian matters (176). The hymn as we have it presents itself as a rhetorical whole, and thus at least some archaic Greeks were asked to believe that the speaker performed on Delos and there performed more than 350 lines about Delphi. J. S. Clay (2006) 48 writes that 'we should not foist off nineteenth-century parochialism on the Greeks.' Timocreon 728 *PMG* hopes that his highly topical poetry will endure and spread. Athenian theatre shows interest in non-local practices (e.g. Soph. *OT* 19–21, Battezzato (2016) with bibliography).

⁵³ E.g. P. 2.15–17, I. 5.30–3.

⁵⁴ B. 3.9–14 with D. L. Cairns (2010) 199, Morgan (2015) 354; cf. P. 1.48–50.

pinnacle of political importance, as *καλλίχορον... πόλιν Χαρίτων | Καρυίδος ἐν τεμένει*, ‘the Graces’ city of beautiful dancing places in the precinct of the nymph Cephisia’ (P. 12.26–7; cf. O. 14.1–5, for a victor from Orchomenus). In an ode for an Aeginetan a Molossian can be indirectly denominated as an ‘Argive man dwelling over the Ionian sea’ (N. 7.64–5). In order to understand the rhetoric of O. 6.84–8, both Stymphalian and Syracusan audiences had to understand that Hera Partheneia was a distinctively Stymphalian topic of song (88).⁵⁵ The Cyrenean audience of *Pythian* 9 was presumed to know about minor games connected to Iolaus in Thebes (81–3).⁵⁶ In the same ode *Νίσου τ’ ἐν λόφῳ*, ‘at Nisus’ hill’ (91), refers to minor games at Megara. In a Hellenistic poem, such periphrastic descriptions would be rightly described as a conspicuous display of erudition.⁵⁷ Pindaric examples could be multiplied.

Like inscriptions, epinicians trust posterity to take interest and make an effort to understand the past (IV.5). One of Bacchylides’ odes for Hieron recounts the dedications of Croesus (B. 3.23–62), an earlier monarch from the other side of the Mediterranean. It stands to reason, then, that those distant in space and time will also remember Hieron’s dedications, the greatest among the Greeks (63–6), much as Croesus’ dedications are remembered by Bacchylides and his contemporaries (92–8). Pindar elsewhere makes a similar point almost explicitly: Croesus is still remembered (*οὐ φθίνει Κροίσου φιλόφρων ἀρετά*, P. 1.94), and Hieron will be remembered through Pindar’s poem (IV.1). It is no coincidence that Hieron, Pindar’s most frequent individual patron, was also the most politically powerful individual in the Greek world. Fifth-century lyric is generally concerned to communicate local identity to a wider audience.⁵⁸ Cities, no less than individuals, had robust motives for wanting to extend their reputations through song. Pindar’s victory odes self-consciously try to influence contemporary opinion⁵⁹ and shape the way the present

⁵⁵ Cf. Paus. 8.22.2, Burkert (1985) 133. *Olympian* 6 evidently envisions performances in Arcadia and Sicily: see, most recently, Stamatopoulou (2014), Adorjáni (2014) 61–4.

⁵⁶ Some modern scholars have misunderstood this reference: see Carey (1981) 90–1, Race (1990) 81.

⁵⁷ Compare and contrast Fuhrer (1992) 88–9 on Callimachus’ epinicians.

⁵⁸ Cf. Nagy (1990) 67, Fearn (2007) 82, Hornblower (2011) 45–6.

⁵⁹ O. 4.11–12 (with Barrett (2007) 42), fr. 70b.23–6, 194, B. 11.123–6; cf. Ar. Av. 905 and following. See further Pfeijffer (2005), Hubbard (2001) 395–6, (2004) 74, D’Alessio (2009b) 148.

will someday be remembered. Developing parallels between the Trojan and Persian wars, Pindar (*I.* 5.39–51), like Simonides (11 W), makes an implicit predication about how ‘coloro | che questo tempo chiameranno antico’ (Dante, *Par.* 17.119–20) might regard the events commemorated through his poem.⁶⁰

Pindar’s epinician should be understood as part of a robust climate of remembrance that also included many other poems, quotidian speech,⁶¹ the visual arts and inscriptions (*IV.*5), dedications (*P.* 5.34–42), written records (*O.* 7.86–7), and perhaps written prose.⁶² Conceptions of the poet as sole and mystically privileged arbiter of truth are inapplicable. It can be important to Pindar’s rhetoric of truth that he is subject to quotidian constraints of verification.⁶³

B. Individual circumstances

When knowledge of the victor’s individual circumstances is necessary for grasping a poem, Pindar reliably supplies the requisite information. The prayer to Heracles to be a good neighbour in *N.* 7.86–92, for example, would be incomprehensible to anyone ignorant of Aeginetan real estate if Pindar did not say, as he does say, that Sogenes lives amid land sacred to Heracles. The lone confident appeal to the audience’s knowledge of an individual’s past in the Pindaric corpus refers to something described in a Pindaric ode composed previously.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ See Grethlein (2010) and Marincola et al. (2012) on Greek historical consciousness before the advent of fully fledged historiography. See now Stenger (2017) on Pindar.

⁶¹ Everyday speech as a complementary but subordinate medium of memory: *Ibyc.* 303a, *O.* 1.28b, 7.10, 11.4–6, *P.* 1.93–4, 96, 3.112–14, 6.15–18, *N.* 6.30, 11.17–18, *I.* 1.51. Poetry may draw on speech (e.g. *O.* 1.47–51, Pavlou (2012b) 108) and speech may draw on poetry (e.g. *O.* 11.4–6). Perhaps Pindar’s poems served as a spur to conversation in the symposium (cf. E. L. Bowie (1993)). See now Nicholson (2016a) 5–12 on oral traditions.

⁶² *P.* 1.94 mentions *λογίους* in addition to singers as sources of remembrance. At *N.* 6.45 it is the role of *λογίους* to glorify Aegina, and the noun implicitly includes Pindar. The word probably refers to ‘the wise, those versed in tales’. This would neither strictly denote nor exclude prose authors. Cf. Henry (2005) 64, Luraghi (2009) 452–6. On early Greek prose see especially Fowler (1996).

⁶³ Cf. e.g. *O.* 4.17–18, *N.* 7.61–9. Ancient historians did take Pindar seriously as a source of information (e.g. Timaeus *BNJ* 566 F 92).

⁶⁴ *ἵστε μὲν Κλεωνύμου | δόξαν παλαιὴν ἄρμας* (*I.* 3.15–16); cf. *I.* 4.25–7. *Isthmian* 3 celebrates an equestrian victory (13) unmentioned in *Isthmian* 4 and so is generally taken to be later.

There is no place in the epinicians where further knowledge of the victor's personal circumstances would certainly render an unclear text clear.⁶⁵ Whatever might be the 'irreducible private aspect of the Pindaric ode' (Silk (1998) 80)—and we are *ex hypothesi* not in a good place to judge this question—it nowhere constitutes an unsurmountable obstacle to understanding the text as a series of well-motivated sentences.

It is characteristic of epinician that an effort to understand the train of thought compels an audience to make inferences about the victor's individual situation. In *Olympian* 8 it follows from the generalization that success answers piety (8) that the successful Alcimedon of Aegina is pious. Like Hellenistic literary epigrams which provoke readers to create the context of imagined monuments (Bing (1995)), archaic epinicians presume in their secondary audiences a willingness to make an intellectual effort towards reconstruction. These poems call for deductions. One may deduce from *Nemean* 2, for example, that the victor is from an Athenian family but was raised on Salamis: *καὶ μὰν ἁ Σαλαμῖς γε θρέψαι φῶτα μαχατάν* | *δυνατός*, 'indeed, Salamis at any rate is capable of raising a fighting man' (13–14); *Ἀχάρναι δὲ παλαίφατον* | *εὐάνορες*, 'Acharnae is famous of old for courageous men' (16–17). The boundary between illegitimate and legitimate inference cannot be legislated on a theoretical level but must be judged on a case-by-case basis.

C. Mythology

It is difficult to ascertain to what extent Pindar's epinicians draw on knowledge of mythological material unavailable to widespread secondary audiences. It is not easy to determine what was distinctively local. Homeric epic, presumably not designed for any single community, sometimes presumes knowledge of mythological material puzzling to modern and ancient commentators.⁶⁶ Pindar's mention of Cynus at *O.* 10.15–16 apparently hinges on a datum unknown to later mythological traditions but perhaps known to the author of the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield*: Cynus, it seems, could be considered to be

⁶⁵ Contrast Bowra (1964) 329: 'the importance of the personal element accounts for much that is hard to follow.'

⁶⁶ E.g. *Il.* 5.395–7 with Kirk (1990) 101–2.

Locrian, and so was genealogically connected to Pindar's Epizephyrean Locrian patrons.⁶⁷ The brief and puzzling tale of the Argive Melampus in a paean for Ceos might reflect a version of the myth unknown to us.⁶⁸

Clearly Pindar's epinicians presume in their audiences extensive knowledge of a wide range of mythical material. The Theban Strep-siades knowingly followed the example of three non-Theban heroes from three different sagas (*I.* 7.31–6). In the past a Libyan nomad knew Argive lore (*P.* 9.112–14).⁶⁹ In a short and allusive narrative, *Olympian* 4 only indirectly denominates as 'the son of Clymenus' (*Κλυμένειο παῖδα*, 19) the relatively obscure Argonaut Erginus, a minor figure without civic or familial connection to the Sicilian victor.⁷⁰ *Nemean* 5 announces that it will go abroad from Aegina into the wider world (1–5) and then passes over a dark spot in Aeginetan history, how Peleus and Telamon murdered their half-brother Phocus (14–16). This sort of *praeteritio* brings more, not less, attention to omitted unpleasantness and presumes that audiences outside Aegina will know what Pindar is not talking about.

Though singing of local themes is a self-consciously navigated generic expectation, apparently already established by Simonides' day if not before, numerous epinicians include mythological material not connected to the victor or his community by civic, genealogical, or institutional ties.⁷¹ Sometimes a prominent literary background helps to explain the relevance of non-local material (e.g. *I.* 4.35–42); in other cases such a literary background seems either unlikely or less relevant.

Pindar's myths show clear signs of accommodating secondary audiences. He often highlights the fact that themes of special interest to the victor's community are also of interest to many others.⁷² Local

⁶⁷ Lloyd-Jones (2005) 55–7; cf. Zardini (2009) 33, Davies and Finglass (2014) 464. Rose (1957) discusses the confused scholia. Praise of the victor follows from praise of his mythical analogue (*μάχα*, *O.* 10.15→*πύκτας*, 16; *τράπε*, 15→*νικῶν*, 16; cf. *N.* 2.13–15). Cynus instantiates the preceding praise of the Locrians' military prowess (15). Metropolis and colony share a mythological heritage (cf. *B.* 11.123–6). Contrast, most recently, Nicholson (2016a) 128–32.

⁶⁸ *Pae.* 4.28–30; cf. D'Alessio (1994b) 64, Rutherford (2001a) 288.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Od.* 2.118–20, *Eur. Med.* 1282–5, Herington (1985) 63–5.

⁷⁰ In the *Iliad* Patroclus is first denominated indirectly as *Μενουτιάδῃ* (1.307).

⁷¹ Directive to sing local themes: *Pind. N.* 3.30–2; cf. *Simon.* 511 fr. 1b with Budelmann (forthcoming), *Ibycus* S220 with Wilkinson (2013) 26. Non-local material: *O.* 4.19–27, *P.* 9.79–89a, 11.59–64, *I.* 1.15–32, *Pae.* 4.28–30.

⁷² *O.* 6.71, 7.50–3, *P.* 1.26, *I.* 6.22–7, 9.1, *B.* 9.40–55.

traditions are generally presented in a manner comprehensible to broader audiences.⁷³ Pindar and Bacchylides' many Aeginetan odes make no mention of Aphaea (but do refer to Athena); they frequently trumpet the Aeacidae as the objects of universal acclaim.⁷⁴ Some poems seem interested in propagating local traditions and/or interweaving them with better-known material. *Olympian* 7 may draw on local traditions, but it clearly draws on the supremely non-local *Iliad*.⁷⁵ In this ode Pindar probably does not describe a distinctively Rhodian rite exclusively for the Rhodians' benefit (34–50) or announce (*ἀγγέλλων*, 21) their own lineage only to them. Bacchylides 11, composed for a Metapontian victor, ends with a reference to anyone who will search the past for Achaean achievement with an unbiased outlook (*δικαίας* | *ὅς τις ἔχει φρένας εὐ|ρήσει*, 123–5). This is unlikely to describe any native Metapontian with a proprietary interest in the achievements of his Achaean ancestors; it could well describe secondary audiences.

If Pindar's odes included material unknown to his secondary audiences, this could have contributed towards, not detracted from, their attractiveness. The poet sometimes points up departures from tradition and highlights his revisionary elan: *ἀντία προτέρων φθέγξομαι*, 'I shall speak contrary to earlier men' (*O.* 1.36). The popularity and the very existence of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, which, as D'Alessio (2005) shows, constitutes an important intertext for Pindar's myths, demonstrates that in this period many were not exclusively interested in local stories. Indeed, the *Catalogue* attests to interest in mythological information for the sake of information (M. L. West (1985) 8). Aristotle was certainly not the first Greek to enjoy learning something new: *μανθάνειν οὐ μόνον τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἥδιον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως*, 'learning is most pleasant not only for philosophers but also for other people likewise' (*Poet.* 1448b.13–14; cf. Hippias *FGrH* 6 T 3 = Pl. *Hp. mai.* 285d).

⁷³ Cf. Morrison (2007a) 123, Rutherford (2015) 450.

⁷⁴ N. 3.64, 6.45–9, I. 6.19–27. Hornblower (2007) 288 would explain the 'curious omission' of Aphaea through details of Aeginetan society for which there is not really any evidence. Pindar wrote a cultic poem for the goddess (fr. 89b).

⁷⁵ *ἀνθρώπων παλαιαί* | *ρήσιες* (*O.* 7.54–5) has been plausibly thought to refer to local traditions. *O.* 7.27–34 looks to *Il.* 2.653–70 (Young (1968) 82–3; *pace* Mann (1994) 314–15).

3. DIFFICULT PLEASURES

Would Pindar's epinicians have been too difficult to appeal to secondary audiences? He flatters his audiences' literary expertise (VII.3). Complexity is prized within his poems; some must have regarded it as a desideratum.⁷⁶ Pindar of Thebes was a successful professional poet for more than half a century. His product must have satisfied some real market share. Many wealthy people who wanted to extend their own reputation hired Pindar in order to do so; he was doing something right.

One might interpret difficulty as a spur, rather than an obstacle, to the involvement of Pindar's secondary audiences.⁷⁷ Complexity, so far from dooming the odes to oblivion, contributes to their success as absorbing monuments to which one may repeatedly return. A listener or reader is involved all the more deeply in the text as he works to grasp its meaning. The universal generalization *εἰ πόνος ἦν, τὸ τεργνὸν πλεόν πεδέρχεται*, 'if there was toil, greater pleasure follows later' (N. 7.74), is relevant on multiple levels: to the games for the athlete, to the process of composition for the poet, and to the act of interpretation for audiences.⁷⁸ 'Difficulty, after all,' writes the poet Robert Pinsky (1997), 'is one of life's essential pleasures.' Descriptions of the composer's careful work in creating an ode, like similar descriptions in later authors, exist in part in order to elicit a careful reception.⁷⁹ Metaphors depicting a whole poem as a crafted system (e.g. O. 6.1–3), descriptions of the poet's labour in composition (e.g. I. 1.4), and passages that look forward to the future performance of a finished ode (e.g. I. 2.45–8) highlight the premeditated design of the text as a whole and encourage the expectation that its various

⁷⁶ E.g. N. 7.77–9, P. 10.53–4. Contrast the simplistic, repetitive refrain (*τερπιδόος*, O. 9.2) of Archilochus' proto-epinician. Pindar can present himself as concerned to please his audience and satisfy their expectations: O. 1.35, P. 9.77–8. Compare and contrast R. Thomas (2012).

⁷⁷ Cf. Scodel (1996) 59–60. Aeschylus' reception during and after his lifetime attests to the compatibility of linguistic density (Ar. *Ran.* 1004–5, *Nub.* 1367) and popularity (*Ran.* 868–9, *Nub.* 1366–7, *Ach.* 9–11, fr. 161, 720 PCG, Pherecrates fr. 100 PCG, Lamari (2015)). Eup. fr. 398 PCG seems to imply that once Pindar's poems were popular in Athens.

⁷⁸ Cf. B. 1.174–7, Goldhill (1986) 41 on Hellenistic poetry, and Lowrie (1997) 12 on Horace.

⁷⁹ Cf. N. 3.12–13, I. 1.4, Ar. *Nub.* 523–4, Theoc. 7.50–1, Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.31–2, Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 5 n. 15.

parts are interconnected in ways that might not be obvious at first. A single reading or listening does not exhaust Pindar's sophisticated poems, which, as most scholars and sensitive readers would agree, reward sustained attention with deepened insight. His works provoke a sense of wonder which does not soon wear off.⁸⁰ These intricately wrought literary artefacts are designed to attract and sustain repeated contemplation. Having written a monograph on Pindar, I still find his poetry overwhelming.

Appeals to the limited 'powers of a listening audience' (Bundy (1986) 35) are less compelling when an audience listens more than once. Pindar presents his authorial skill as justifying a lasting reception. Some of his earliest audiences, like modern scholars, regarded his poems as worthy of repeated attention. Timocritus, if alive, would reperform Pindar's poem 'often' (*θαυμά*, N. 4.15). The hypothetical nature of the sentence suggests a standard expectation.⁸¹ In Aristophanes' *Clouds* Strepsiades asks his son to play once again an epinician by Simonides already known to both of them (1355–6). 'Personal experience with music teaches us that when we like a song we want to hear it more than once' (Morgan (2015) 114). Pindar's prayer to have his poetry perpetuated like Homeric epic (*I.* 4.37–45) probably entails a wish for his work to be experienced by various audiences more than once. At a most basic level, repetition is fundamental to notions of permanence and canonicity.

Fifth-century Greeks who memorized Pindar's odes for reperformance will have had to read or listen to them far more than once in order to commit them to memory and afterwards will have continually rehearsed the text to keep it fresh in their memory.⁸² Any fifth-century Greeks who read Pindar without an eye towards memorization and recitation will have practised what Darnton (1982) 79, discussing

⁸⁰ Cf. *θαυμαστόν ὕμνον* (*I.* 4.21); for enduring wonder at excellent song cf. *Pae.* 8.76–9.

⁸¹ At *I.* 2.43–5 'let him never keep silent' is polar litotes for 'let him always celebrate'. B. fr. 20b directs itself to a generalized occasion reoccurring monthly (5–6). Pindar generally describes various sorts of poetry and poetic traditions as iterative, abiding presences in the world: *O.* 6.96–7, *P.* 2.15–16, 54–6, 3.78, 4.295–6, 12.25, *N.* 2.2–3, 5.38, 11.7, *I.* 5.26–9, fr. 6a(k), *Pae.* 2.98, 6.16, 182, fr. 75.18–19, B. 13.94, 16.12, fr. 4.57.

⁸² Pl. *Prt.* 338e–339b implies that Socrates has been rehearsing (cf. Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.21) and thinking about Simonides' poem, and so he is now in a position to talk sense about it (cf. Pl. *Ap.* 24d.9). Note Pl. *Prt.* 325e–326b, *Leg.* 810e–811a.

another historical period, terms ‘intensive’ rather than ‘extensive’ reading: careful and repeated engagement with a relatively small set of texts, each holding great importance. We should not necessarily regard the paradigmatic experience of Pindar’s various historical audiences as consisting merely of one listening lasting perhaps fifteen minutes. It is not anachronistic to apply to these odes strategies of interpretation based on careful and repeated attention to his words.

Probably Pindar’s odes were less prohibitively difficult for his contemporaries than they have seemed to some moderns. Outside the scholiastic tradition, the poet was not taxed with obscurity in antiquity.⁸³ Ancient audiences imbued in the conventions of choral lyric will have brought to these demanding works a range of useful shared knowledge.⁸⁴ Indeed, Pindar often calls attention to its audience’s knowledge of his genre and its conventions (VII.1). Many of his contemporaries were experienced not only as audiences of choral poetry but also as active participants in choruses.⁸⁵ Choral lyric, for modern readers primarily a modest set of texts, was for them a pervasive social practice. Doubtless much of such poetry was far less challenging than Pindar, but some will have been comparable in various respects (VI.1). The manifest similarities between the works of the Theban Pindar and the Cean Bacchylides for far-flung clients show that shared knowledge derived from precedent was widespread. This knowledge will have enabled felicitous communication with far-flung secondary audiences.

As his audience learnt to understand Pindar by experiencing previous poems, so the poet presumably came to compose intelligible works by learning from the tradition. Only one passage might provide a naturalistic biographical explanation of the poet’s skill as acquired through quotidian experience rather than endowed from on high by fate or the divine: οὔτοι με ξένον | οὐδ’ ἀδαήμονα Μοισᾶν ἐπαίδευσαν κλυταί | Θῆβαι, ‘glorious Thebes educated me to be no stranger to the

⁸³ Most (1985a) 12: ‘Pindar is discussed by many ancient poets, prose writers, and literary theorists—and not one provides even the slightest hint that Pindar’s poetry might offer any obstacle whatsoever to the understanding’; cf. Lefkowitz (1976) 96.

⁸⁴ Bundy (1986) 26 writes of ‘the frequent experience their audience can be presumed to have had of *enkomia*’. Cf. Fränkel (1975) 428: ‘the difficulties of his language arise . . . from his speaking as supreme master, at the very end of his epoch.’

⁸⁵ Widespread choral participation: Bacon (1995) 16, Rutherford (2008) 80; cf. Revermann (2006) 104–5, 108–12 on Athenian theatre.

Muses nor without knowledge of them' (fr. 198a).⁸⁶ The first person here could conceivably represent a Theban chorus rather than Pindar.⁸⁷ These choices might represent something of a false dichotomy, and either possibility supports the arguments advanced here. This fragment is not a reference to some Theban public school system but rather to the city's musico-poetic traditions, a real point of civic pride. Theban poetic performances and literary culture have educated the speaker so as to be no 'foreigner' to the Muses but thoroughly knowledgeable in the sort of poetry from which this fragment emerges.

If Pindar and Bacchylides' poems have struck some as prohibitively difficult, this may be because modern readers, unlike the speaker of fr. 198a, are 'foreign' to the traditions through which archaic poets and widespread audiences learnt how to create and understand the distinctive and demanding discourse of choral lyric poetry. 'Fremdartig ist uns sebst seine Kunst,' as Wilamowitz (1922) 463 writes. By recovering structures of genre we may hope to recover something of the processes through which these poems made sense to contemporary audiences. For us, at least, 'understanding Pindar depends on finding parallels' (Slater (1977) 195). The arid 'cf. e.g.' represents a mechanical effort to reconstruct ancient audiences' organic understanding now only 'recoverable from comparative study' (Bundy (1986) 35).

4. ORALITY AND WRITING

Pindar's epinicians envision and accommodate secondary audiences removed in space and time from their first performances. How did they reach such audiences?

External evidence suggests that in the fifth century Pindar's epinicians survived in oral reperformances ultimately relying on written

⁸⁶ Cf. B. fr. 5: ἔτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου σοφός | τό τε πάλαι τό τε νῦν; contrast e.g. *Od.* 22.347–9, Hes. *Theog.* 22–3, Pind. *N.* 4.41–3.

⁸⁷ An unnoticed allusion in the *Epitaph for Bion* ([Mosch.] 3.93–7) suggests that the author of that work, who read a fuller text, understood the speaker to be Pindar: see Spelman (forthcoming a). Theban pride in cosmopolitan sophistication: *O.* 6.89–90, 70b.23–6, fr. 215a.1–7. *Choreia* and education: Pl. *Leg.* 653e–654e, Calame (2001) 222–3, Furlay and Bremer (2001) i.22–3.

texts.⁸⁸ As many have observed, nowhere in the odes is permanence explicitly said to be guaranteed by writing. Imagery involving epigrams comes closest to connecting permanence with writing (IV.5; cf. Hubbard (2004) 91). Older Near Eastern hymns, by contrast, explicitly and frequently link writing to durability (Metcalf (2015) 143–6). It would be overhasty, however, to infer that writing played no important role in early epinician reception. The depiction of the afterlife of a poem is a rhetorical strategy. Hellenistic and Roman poets frequently discuss reading because this was the means through which others experienced their work. When Pindar aims for a similar self-reflexive effect, he describes his poems as being experienced aurally. Timocritus, the only person depicted as reperforming a Pindaric ode within the Pindaric corpus, may have, if he had lived, read a text multiple times in order to memorize the ninety-six lines of *Nemean* 4,⁸⁹ but during his hypothetical reperformances he holds in his hands a lyre, not a scroll: ποικίλον κιθαρίζων | θαμά κε, τῷιδε μέλει κλιθεῖς, | υἱὸν κελάδῃσιν καλλίνικον, ‘often he would have played an elaborate tune on the cithara and, relying on this song, would have sung of his victorious son’ (N. 4.14–16).

If Pindar’s poems were experienced by many secondary audiences as memorized recitations, we should not discount the possibility of a fifth-century readership. Indeed, reperformances will have often depended on texts. A robust case may be mounted on the basis of motive and opportunity.⁹⁰

Pindar was hardly ignorant of writing.⁹¹ Texts and performances existed alongside each other from very early on, and we must find

⁸⁸ Herington (1985) 41: ‘although [poetry’s] performances were universally oral, it rested on a firm sub-structure of carefully meditated written texts’. Cf. Irigoin (1952) 8–19, Havelock (1982) 188–9, R. Thomas (1992) 119–20, Morrison (2007a) 113–7. Morrison (2007b) 37–42 discusses how re-performance can ‘textualize’ song. Carey (2001) 25 speaks of ‘una biblioteca orale’. See further the more general discussion in V.2.E.

⁸⁹ It seems improbable that anyone other than a savant could recite a Pindaric epinician after one hearing (cf. Thuc. 1.22, Pl. *Phdr.* 228a.5–c.6). It took me a business week to memorize *Nemean* 4, but I suspect that Timocritus had better Greek.

⁹⁰ Cf. Wilamowitz (1900) 37–40, D. L. Cairns (2010) 12, Carey (2011) 452, Hubbard (2004, 2011), Phillips (2016) 3–4. M. L. West (2011–13) ii.147: ‘There must have been a certain number of people, however small, who read books and copied them.’

⁹¹ References to writing: O. 3.29–30, 7.86–7, 10.1–3, *Pae.* 7b.24, Herington (1985) 45, Morrison (2007a) 114–15. If fr. 265 is trustworthy, Pindar may have referred to a text of the *Cypria*, Homer’s original copy. In the classical period the *προιξ* regularly

ways to come to grips with this important fact. The evidence for a text-based literary culture in Pindar's day, augmented by some striking recent additions, is cumulatively stronger than is sometimes supposed. A brisk and selective review of vivid pieces of evidence may be worthwhile. The writer of the surprisingly accomplished 'Nestor's Cup' inscription is already perhaps familiar with poems written out in stichic fashion.⁹² One can now compare a recently excavated cup from Methone with a metrical inscription from around the same period.⁹³ Hecataeus proudly and programmatically states that he writes (*γράφω*, F 1 Fowler); he wrote for someone—evidently already an established, familiar practice. If Hecataeus could write for the Greek world, then perhaps Pindar could do something similar.⁹⁴ The so-called 'Seal of Theognis' (19–28) may involve writing and connect textuality to durable and widespread fame.⁹⁵ Herodotus (6.27.2) describes 120 Chian children learning to read in 496. Perhaps the one who survived the collapse of the roof lived on to read some Pindar. During Pindar's career writing appeared frequently on Athenian vases and stages (Pfeiffer (1968) 26–7). Around 430, relatively soon after the end of Pindar's career, a performer, who was probably also a poet, was buried with his lyre and his writing tablets (Pöhlmann and West (2012)). One would like to imagine him reading and performing Pindar as well as producing his own poems influenced by Pindar (cf. *P.* 4.248, *Ar. Av.* 902–51). Wright (2012) ch. 5 compellingly argues that in Athens during the 420s there existed a coterie of highly literate and highly learned readers. Such a situation in the decades after the end of Pindar's career will not have suddenly sprung up *ex nihilo*—like Athena leaping fully formed and clad in armour from the head of Zeus. It is worth remembering that Pindar's career overlapped with that of Cratinus, Aristophanes' older contemporary who staged his own act of written composition (*γράφ'*, fr. 208;

included movable physical property. A memorized poem would have been of rather less value to Homer's daughter after the termination of her marriage.

⁹² Immerwahr (1990) 18–19, Pöhlmann (1990) 12–14; González (2013) 141–6 do not refute this hypothesis.

⁹³ See especially Janko (2015) 23–7.

⁹⁴ *Ἑλλάγων* (Hecataeus F 1 Fowler) 'names the implied audience' (Fowler (2000–13) ii.679).

⁹⁵ Pratt (1995) restates this position. Hubbard (2007) defends it against some detractors. Condello (2009–10) comprehensively reviews scholarship on this passage. On Theognis' date see Selle (2008) 229–46.

γράφον, fr. 209 PCG).⁹⁶ Pindar was a contemporary of Herodotus, who wrote a truly enormous work with a robust sense of posterity (Rösler (2002)). If Herodotus read his Homer (Jensen (2011) 261), why should we suppose that he did not read his Pindar (cf. VII.2)? Our earliest extant reference to the formal book trade is from around 420 and is also our earliest extant reference to the formal onion trade, which presumably did not suddenly flower around 420 (Eup. 327 PCG with Olson (2014) 15–18). Probably the book industry, like most industries, responded to demand. There must have been texts circulating in the fifth century since a fair number have come down to us.

Estimates of literacy rates in the classical period are neither astronomical nor negligible.⁹⁷ Roman and Hellenistic poets, who often speak of lasting poetic afterlife, hoped to achieve that afterlife among a relatively small readership.⁹⁸ Perhaps Pindar could do something broadly similar. If he could imagine a relatively small readership experiencing his poems generation after generation throughout a theoretically endless period of time, this possibility might have mattered considerably to him and to his patrons. If the poet could not count an endless sum of sand (O. 2.98, 13.44–6), he was nonetheless still reasonably numerate.

If readers existed, who were they? Epinicians purport to be of universal interest both in first performance and in subsequent reception;⁹⁹ they would have in fact been of special interest to some. Broad generalization about the ‘primarily oral’ nature of fifth-century culture will not cut a lot of ice here. Writing down a text will have tended to reflect perceived worth and often also an attempt to secure pragmatic advantage. It is easy enough to imagine that Pindar’s patrons,

⁹⁶ Cratinus’ career started in the mid-450s (Millis and Olson (2012) 53).

⁹⁷ See, for example, Harris (1989) 114–15. If the considerable advancement of literacy over the half-century of Pindar’s career made a written afterlife more plausible or important for him, this development has left, as far as I can see, no discernible trace in his work.

⁹⁸ Compare and contrast H. N. Parker (2009), who argues for a wider readership than is usually supposed and cites received wisdom.

⁹⁹ E.g. P. 10.55–9, N. 5.2–3, I. 4.40–5. See Race (1979) and Most (1986a) on O. 2.83–6. Lavecchia (2000b) reverts to understanding τὸ πᾶν (85) to mean ‘the masses’. His parallel is much later and not particularly close. The ability to play the lyre and sing was a basic expectation for a cultured male: Pind. P. 4.295–6, N. 4.13–16, fr. 129.7, Ar. Vesp. 959 with Biles and Olson (2015) 365, Landels (1999) 8. The pool of potential Pindaric re-performers was not insignificant. Composing for posterity need not entail composing for everyone; consider Theognis and Thomas Pynchon.

who, as he stresses, spared no expense to excel in the games and commission an excellent commemorative poet (and probably also fund a chorus), would also have actively promoted the dissemination and thereby the afterlife of commemorative poems. Elites were interconnected, and historians have by now accustomed us to think of them as members of an 'international' class. They had ideological reasons for glorifying past achievement and broadcasting present pre-eminence. It would not be surprising if texts circulated in informal networks (cf. *N.* 5.1–5). Poets (cf. *P.* 4.248, *B. fr.* 5.1–2), performers (cf. *N.* 4.13–16), and educators (cf. *P.* 6.48–9) may well have had their own pragmatic reasons for acquiring written texts. Reading and carefully rereading Pindar may have always been a minority practice; this does not make it uninteresting as a historical phenomenon.

Reading poetry may not have been an ordinary pastime, but Pindar's epinicians are extraordinary things that were extraordinarily important to some. One might nominate Thrasybulus as the most likely reader—aside from the poet himself—to appear in the Pindaric corpus. Two odes present him as familiar with a broad range of older poetry from cyclic epic to erotic lyric. Thrasybulus is not simply a card-carrying member of a 'song culture' but someone whose enthusiasm for literature distinguishes him as an individual (*P.* 6.48–9, *I.* 2.12 with IV.3 and VII.2.C). It would not be surprising if this noble's extraordinary zeal led him to acquire written texts. As the extant choral odes which they commissioned from professional poets attest, the Emmenidae were exceptionally willing to invest in verse.

* * *

The preceding sections have laid down the groundwork for what follows by arguing for the accessibility of Pindar's poetry to those removed from its first performance. In the next chapters we move towards interpreting the texts in order to see better how Pindar's layered public matters for our understanding of his work as historical evidence and as literature.

II

Vital Light in *Isthmian* 4

The Poets light but Lamps—
Themselves—go out—
The Wicks they stimulate—
If vital Light

Inhere as do the Suns—
Each Age a Lens
Disseminating their
Circumference—

Emily Dickinson¹

The conspicuousness is central to Pindaric praise. High, big, loud, bright: these are his stock-in-trade.² Gildersleeve (1885) xxxvi observes that Pindar ‘drains dry the Greek vocabulary of words for light and bright, shine and shimmer, glitter and glisten, ray and radiance, flame and flare and flash, gleam and glow, burn and blaze’. Many have addressed the poet’s pervasive light imagery,³ but scholars are often imprecise about what sort of light is being imagined in individual passages. In many cases it will be helpful to distinguish

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² See the helpful catalogue of passages provided by Race (1990) 63.

³ Gundert (1935) 11–29, Mugler (1960), Treu (1965), D. Bremer (1976) 280–314, Nünlist (1998) 162–73, Adorjáni (2011) 78–80, 172–96, Briand (2016). Bowra (1964) 34–5 and Hutchinson (2012) 279–80 observe a distinction between fire and celestial light.

between fire and celestial light. The imagery of fire typically evokes poetry as a conspicuous gleam in the here and now while the imagery of celestial light typically evokes glory reaching through space and lasting through time.

Fame's 'ideal properties are volume and extent over space and time' (M. L. West (2007) 406). The image of fame as celestial light, and especially as sunlight, conveys superlative extent over both spatial and temporal axes. In Greek literature sunlight often connotes 'everywhere' and idiomatically defines the realm of the living.⁴ Fame can be said to spread as far as the light of the sun.⁵ A paradigmatically indestructible natural element (Thgn. 251–2, Simon. 581.3), the sun can evoke the power of poetry to endure. Consider Bacchylides 13.175–81:

οὐ γὰρ ἀλαμπεῖ νυκ[τός
 πασιφανής Ἀρετ[ὰ
 κρυφθεῖς ἀμανροῦται
 ἀλλ' ἔμπεδον ἀκ[αμάται
 βρύουσα δόξαι
 στρωφᾶται κατὰ γῶν [τε
 καὶ πολὺπλαγκτον θάλασσαν.

For universally conspicuous Excellence is not covered over by the lightless . . . of night and dimmed, but rather steadfastly abounding with tireless glory it roams about over the land and the sea which causes much wandering.

The sun is evoked through a polar contrast with night (νυκ[τός, 175). Emphasis on universal visibility (πασιφανής, 176) and repeated, unending worldwide travels likewise call to mind the sun (cf. Mimnermus 12). *στρωφᾶται* (180) often describes the course of heavenly bodies.⁶ If the most common reconstruction of the preceding lines is substantially correct,⁷ Bacchylides asserts that, though their bodies are destroyed, the fame of the Aeacidae shines on eternally (cf. B. 3.90–2, Cic. *Arch.* 24). In this epinician, which uniquely narrates at length an episode from the

⁴ *Il.* 18.61, *Od.* 3.1–3, Hes. *Op.* 155, Sappho 65.8–9, Ibyc. S166.23–5, B. fr. 20c.21–4, Aesch. *Pers.* 299, Fraenkel (1957) 451 n. 4.

⁵ E.g. *Il.* 7.451, 458, Sappho 65.8–9. The new Marathon epigram (*SEG* 56.430) apparently associates the glory of the fallen with light (φάος) and the furthest reaches of time (αἰεῖ) and space (ἔσχατα γαίης; cf. anon. 896 *PMG*). Unfortunately the text is corrupt, perhaps beyond repair (cf. Janko (2014)).

⁶ Gow (1950) ii.417 on Theoc. 24.11–12.

⁷ Maehler (1982–97) ii.280–1, Stenger (2004) 183, Fearn (2007) 125. *βαθυξύλωι* (B. 13.169) probably refers to Achilles' pyre. The passing funeral fire contrasts with the eternal sun-like light of glory (cf. *N.* 9.22–4, 41–2).

Iliad, the sun-like spread and durability of fame are closely associated with Homeric epic, in fifth-century lyric an unrivalled paradigm for how poetry can reach through time and space (IV.4).

Pindar fr. 227 draws on a similar constellation of associations: νέων δὲ μέριμναι cὺν πόνοις εἰλισσύμεναι | δόξαν εὐρίσκοντι· λάμπει δὲ χρόνῳ | ἔργα μετ' αἰθέρ' <ἀερ>θέντα, 'the ambitions of the young, when exercised with toil, find fame. And in time deeds shine, exalted up to the sky.' μετ' αἰθέρ' and λάμπει, 'the standard verb to describe the sun's shining' (Gerber (1982) 50 on O. 1.23), suggest heavenly light. <ἀερ>θέντα, convincingly restored by Boeckh, connotes poetic exaltation and an ascending celestial body.⁸ In Pindar the nouns φάος and φέγγος, which, as Ciani (1974) 171 observes, typically refer to heavenly light as opposed to firelight, are also often linked to wide-spread and lasting fame.⁹ This association comes through clearly at O. 10.22–3: ἄπονον δ' ἔλαβον χάρμα παῦροί τινες, | ἔργων πρὸ πάντων βίῳ φάος, 'and but some few have attained without toil that joy which is a light for a life in recompense for all deeds.' The joy in question is lasting fame (κλέος, 21). O. 4.9–10 is similar: τόνδε κῶμον, | χροινιώτατον φάος εὐρυθενέων ἀρετῶν, 'this revel, longest-enduring light for achievements of great strength'.

N. 6.34–8 may be usefully contrasted with such passages:

καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀγαθείαι
 χεῖρας ἱμάντι δεθεῖς Πυ-
 θῶνι κράτησεν ἀπὸ ταῦτας
 αἶμα πάτρας
 χρυσαλακάτου ποτὲ Καλλίας ἀδῶν
 ἔρνεσι Λατοῦς, παρὰ Κασταλίαν τε Χαρίτων
 ἑσπέριος ὁμάδῳ φλέγεν.

And indeed, once in holy Pytho Callias, a blood relative of that clan, bound his hands with thongs and triumphed, having pleased the scions of golden-spindled Leto, and in the evening by the Castalian spring he was ablaze with the clamour of the Graces.

What is described is a past event in one particular time and place, not an enduring and widespread reputation. Here light imagery is connected to the victory revel at the site of the games, which took

⁸ Poetry: N. 8.41, I. 1.64–5, fr. 520.40; heavenly body: Alcm. 1.63, Eur. *Alc.* 450, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.162, Arat. 326 with Kidd (1997) 306.

⁹ O. 4.9–10, 10.20–3, P. 3.74–6, 8.96–7, N. 3.64, 83–4, 9.41–2, I. 6.62, *Pae.* 2.68.

place at night following the day's competition and so was illuminated by torchlight.¹⁰ Together with *δμάδωι* (38), the verb *φλέγειν* (38) may evoke fire as a symbol for a loud sound.¹¹ Elsewhere in Pindar fire imagery tends to be connected to the moment of performance and evoke an action ongoing in the present.¹² Consider, for example, *P.* 5.45: *Ἀλεξιβιάδα, σὲ δ' ἡύκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες*, 'son of Alexibius, the fair-haired Graces are setting you ablaze.' When Pindar shifts focus to the victor's charioteer and tells him that he is ablaze, these words are performative: Carrhotus is ablaze because he is now being praised. As in other passages, fire evokes poetry as an ongoing performance within a celebratory occasion. Thus too in *Isthmian* 7 Strepsiades 'is ablaze with the violet-haired Muses' (*φλέγεται δὲ ἰοπλόκοις Μοίαις*, 23) because he is being celebrated in this poem.

Isthmian 4¹³ is very interested in various types of light imagery. I offer an interpretation of this ode focused on the interplay between fire and celestial light in order to show how these symbols invite meditation on the paradoxical nature of this poem and indeed all of Pindaric epinician as simultaneously an utterance forming part of a transitory revel and an enduring artefact.¹⁴

In *Isthmian* 4 the victor's relationship to familial tradition parallels the poet's relationship to literary tradition. Both are introduced against an impressive background; both eventually overshadow their predecessors. Pindar and Melissus pick up Theban legacies and carry them onto the Hellenic stage.

¹⁰ Cf. *O.* 10.73–6, Heath (1988) 180, Henry (2005) 63.

¹¹ Cf. *Il.* 6.328–9, 12.35, *Od.* 20.353, Aesch. *Pers.* 395 with Garvie (2009) 193, Eur. *El.* 694–5, *Ph.* 1377–8 with Mastronarde (1994) 534, Ar. *Ach.* 665, Verg. *Aen.* 6.165.

¹² Cf. *O.* 9.21–5, *P.* 5.45, 11.41–5, *N.* 6.35–8, 10.1–3, *I.* 4.43–5, 7.23–5, *Pae.* 2.66–7, fr. 52s.18.1–5.

¹³ *Isthmian* 3 and 4 are separate poems, as they were taken to be in the Alexandrian edition. See Cole (2003) 241–2 for an overview of modern scholarship. Barrett (2007) 162–7, 315 n. 3 and Hamilton (1974) 111 offer compelling metrical and structural evidence, respectively, for division. The repetition of essential encomiastic information militates against unity (cf. Köhnken (1971) 92); both poems constitute independent memorials. If we have one poem, then we have a sequence of thought without a good Pindaric parallel: a generalization unrelated to poetry (*I.* 3.18b) followed by an unconnected authorial statement (*I.* 4.1). Fennell (1899) 169, sensing a lack of connection, hypothesizes a missing strophe. Lidov (1974) and Cole (2003) speculatively connect the identical metre of the two poems to linked performance circumstances.

¹⁴ McNeal (1978) and Segal (1981) discuss light imagery from a structuralist perspective.

Melissus' victory is framed as a continuation of his family's history. The Cleonymidae have been consistently distinguished: *τοὶ μὲν ὦν Θήβαισι τιμάντες ἀρχαῖθεν λέγονται*, 'but from long ago they are said to have been honoured in Thebes' (7). Their time-honoured reputation is described as a reality to which the poet can attest. This superlative legacy is complicated, however, by the fact that war claimed four family members in one day (16–17b).¹⁵ As Pindar turns to his proprietary subject, recent athletic victory, he describes the rejuvenated reputation of the Cleonymidae (21–7):

...τόνδε πορὼν γενεᾷ θαυμαστὸν ὕμνον
 ἐκ λεχέων ἀνάγει φάμαν παλαιάν
 εὐκλέων ἔργων· ἐν ὕπνῳ
 γὰρ πέσεν· ἀλλ' ἀνεγειρομένα χρῶτα λάμπει,
 Ἀοκφόρος θαητὸς ὥς ἄστροις ἐν ἄλλοις·
 ἃ τε κὰν γουνοῖς Ἀθανᾶν
 ἄρμα καρύξαια νικᾶν
 ἔν τ' Ἀδραστείοις ἀέθλοις Κυκῶνος ὤπασεν
 τοιάδε τῶν τότε' ἐόντων φύλλ' αἰοδᾶν.

...by granting this wonder-inducing song to the clan [Poseidon] leads up from its bed their old fame for glorious deeds, for it had fallen into sleep; but now it is awake and its flesh shines like the Morning Star, splendid to see among other stars. That fame announced their chariot victory both on the heights of Athens and in the games of Adrastus at Sicyon, and gave such leaves of song as these from men who lived then.

Again a lasting reputation is linked to celestial light as a long-standing reputation (*φάμαν παλαιάν*, 22) is renewed within Pindar's poem. The vagaries of the wind that earlier symbolized random vicissitudes (5–6) here give way to the constant rhythm of the seasons (winter yielding to spring) and daylight (night broken by the morning star).¹⁶

Pindar, however, does not merely continue the Cleonymidae's legacy; he brings it to a culmination. His work surpasses previous epinicians as Melissus' Panhellenic victory surpasses his family's previous local accomplishments. Though celebrated for victories in minor contests (25–7), the Cleonymidae had never before won in the

¹⁵ *τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο* (I. 4.17) picks up the weather imagery of lines 5–6 and instantiates the thought expressed there.

¹⁶ Regular periodicity of heavenly bodies: Pind. N. 2.10–12, Arat. 451–3 with Kidd (1997) 342–3.

four major games (28–30).¹⁷ A remarkably extended description of their lack of success contrasts with the opening description of the victor's recent Panhellenic triumph, precisely what eluded previous generations (ἀφάνεια τύχας, 31; εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφρανας Ἰσθμίοις, 2; cf. νίκαν ἀνεφάνατο, 71).

Pindar, like Melissus, continues a tradition but brings it to a new level of Panhellenic achievement. He revives a family's reputation but asserts his pre-eminence over earlier epinicians. The Cleonymidae until now enjoyed local celebrity: they have long been honoured in their hometown (7) for regional successes and ethical conduct. In the past they also enjoyed epinician poems for minor victories: τοιαῦδε τῶν τότ' ἐόντων φύλλ' αἰοιδᾶν, 'such leaves of song as these from men who lived then' (27). Here τοιαῦδε draws an explicit generic link with the epinicians from an earlier generation.¹⁸ It is not clear whether Pindar refers to epinician poems preserved as texts or epinician revels that included poetry but were later remembered only as events (VII.5). It is clear, however, that *Isthmian* 4 mentions older epinician poetry partly in order to highlight its own superior power along the axes of time and space (cf. *O.* 9.1–4, 21–5). Pindar would not pray to emulate these previous epinicians as he later prays to emulate Homeric epic (43–5). The reception of these earlier epinicians could not be described in the same superlative terms as that of Homeric epic (37–42). These earlier poems, as Willcock (1995) 77 writes, are 'not up to Pindar's standard'.

'Leaves of song' (φύλλ' αἰοιδᾶν, 27) evokes an athletic crown (cf. 44) but also brings to mind the theme of seasonal bloom and decay, which is prominent in the preceding verses.¹⁹ Despite these previous celebrations, the Cleonymidae's glory lapsed into the darkness of being forgotten (23). Because of Pindar's superior skill (cf. εἴ τις εὖ εἴπημι τι, 41), the light of his poem will never be so dimmed (cf. ἄσβεστος αἰεΐ, 42) and the family will never again be so forgotten. They have been honoured in Thebes (Θήβαις, 7), but through *Isthmian* 4 their fame will spread as widely as sunlight (δι' ἀνθρώπων, 37) and reach later generations as long as the sun shines. In *Isthmian* 4

¹⁷ See Gundert (1935) 13–14 and Thummer (1968–9) ii.71. Privitera (1982) 177 cites *I.* 6.10.11 in support of implied victory, but in that passage victory is explicit.

¹⁸ Cf. fr. 52m.4–5. B. 20.3 (τοιόνδε μέλος) establishes a more general link with a previous performance (cf. *Ar. Av.* 1735).

¹⁹ *I.* 4.18b with Woodbury (1947). Cf. *O.* 12.15 with Nisetich (1977b) 259–61, Segal (1981) 72, and, more generally, R. Griffith (1999).

Pindar is trying to do something that earlier epinicians for the Cleonymidae had not done.

The implicit comparison between Pindar's epinician and its generic predecessors becomes clearer when a different genre with different associations emerges into view later in the ode. As often in Pindar, the actual past reception of epic serves to frame the potential future reception of epinician (IV.4). The first myth of *Isthmian* 4 is a story about storytelling, a narrative as much about Homer as about Ajax (37–42):

ἀλλ' Ὀμηρός τοι τετίμα-
 κεν δι' ἀνθρώπων, ὃς αὐτοῦ
 πᾶσαν ὀρθώσας ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν
 θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν.
 τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἔρπει,
 εἴ τις εὖ εἴπηι τι· καὶ πάγ-
 καρπον ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ διὰ πόντον βέβακεν
 ἐργμάτων ἀκτὺς καλῶν ἄσβεστος αἰεῖ.

But Homer, to be sure, has made him [sc. Ajax] honoured throughout mankind, who exalted his entire achievement and declared it with his staff of divine verses for future men to play. For that thing goes forth speaking for all time if someone says something well, and over the all-fruitful earth and through the sea has gone the beam of noble deeds forever undimmed.

This passage is among the most extensive and important early poetic meditations on Homer as an authorial personality. It is also among the most important pieces of evidence for Pindar's conception of his own poetic project, which is grounded in a certain understanding of the past. As in Bacchylides 13.175–81, the imagery of fame as celestial light is closely connected to Homeric epic.²⁰ As in Bacchylides 13, endless worldwide travels call to mind the sun in particular. The noun ἀκτὺς (I. 4.42) commonly refers to a sunbeam.²¹

Ajax is introduced as an example of the vulnerability of valour (34–5) but becomes an example of the power of poetry to redeem valour. As Pindar resurrects the Cleonymidae's reputation, so Homer through the enduring radiance of his poetry redeems Ajax, who in the *Aethiopis* commits suicide in the dark of ignominy and in the gloom of the

²⁰ Homer as sun: Antipater of Sidon 225–6 *HE*, Leonidas of Tarentum 2147–50 *HE*.

²¹ Cf. LSJ⁹ and Slater s.v., Silk (1974) 116–17, Segal (1981) 75, Hutchinson (2012) 280.

pre-dawn hours (ὀψίαι | ἐν νυκτί, 35b–6; cf. *Aethiopsis* fr. 6 GEF).²² As in lines 23–4, so too here again in *Isthmian* 4 celestial light is closely linked to a lasting and widespread tradition. This second description of poetry, however, caps the earlier description of resurrected glory by evoking the sun heralded by the morning star (cf. *Od.* 13.93–5). The dawn star implies a return from darkness; ἄρβεστος αἰεῖ (42) suggests an unnatural super-sun never quenched in darkness.²³ The dawn star shines pre-eminently among others in the night sky (24); the sun has no rival.²⁴

This passage is designed to activate an audience's knowledge of a poetic tradition. Homer's immortalization of Ajax, a hero without civic or familial connection to the Theban victor, makes the story relevant. ἄρβεστος αἰεῖ (42) expands on the Homeric ἄρβεστον κλέος (*Od.* 4.584, 7.333) and applies the vocabulary of epic to its reception so as to affirm the vision of its own afterlife embodied within that genre.²⁵ βέβακεν (41) is a gnomic perfect, 'stressing the continuity or permanence' of the action described (Gerber (1982) 90). The perfect τετίμακεν (37) highlights durative aspect.²⁶ τοι (37) 'bring[s] home to the comprehension of the person addressed a truth' (Denniston 537). The confident ἔτε μάν (35) ostentatiously draws on the audience's knowledge of a well-known story.²⁷ Pindar makes that knowledge an object of reflection. Proof positive of the immortalizing power of poetry lies in the fact that an audience does know of Ajax's excellence through Homer. One's ability to follow the argument confirms its central proposition.

Homer is assimilated to a rhapsode of the sort that recited epic in the fifth century.²⁸ Pindar depicts a tradition stemming from Homer's performance long ago: Homer's words echo into the future as his work speaks to later generations through those who perform his work (ἔφρασεν, 38→φωνᾶεν, 40→εἴπηι, 41). The epic poet's voice is

²² Spelman (2018b) argues that *Isthmian* 4 refers to the cyclic *Aethiopsis* as the work of Homer.

²³ Cf. *P.* 6.10–18, *B.* 13.175–81.

²⁴ *O.* 1.5–6, Simon. 605.

²⁵ Cf. Sappho 44.4, Ibyc. S151.46–7, Simon. 11.15–17 W. *θεσπεσίων ἐπέων* (*I.* 4.39) functions similarly: cf. *θέσπιν ἀοιδῇν* (*Od.* 1.328).

²⁶ Cf. Simon. 11.15 W: ἀθά[γατον κέχνηται κλέος (also of Homer).

²⁷ The particle is best taken as emphatic: cf. *λέγοντι μάν* (*O.* 9.49), *λέγονται μάν* (*P.* 3.88), *λέγεται μάν* (*N.* 9.39), Hummel (1993) 404.

²⁸ Cf. *Pl. Resp.* 10.600d, *Leg.* 658b–d, Graziosi (2002) 30, Uhlig (2016) 115–17. *ῥάβδος* as icon of rhapsodes: M. L. West (1966) 163–4.

perpetuated in those who reperform his poems time and again.²⁹ Homer, moreover, wants his work to be so repeated: ἀθύρειν (39) is a final infinitive that attributes to Homer an intention to achieve an extended reception.³⁰ Pindar's expressed hope to immortalize his subject has manifest precedent—albeit not an epinician one.

ἄσβεστος (42), which Pindar applies to the sun-like ray of glory, in Homer describes flames (*Il.* 16.123, 17.88–9) as well as fame. Diction thus prepares for the fire imagery of lines 43–5, where the implicit comparison between epic and epinician becomes explicit:

προφρόνων Μοικᾶν τύχοιμεν,
 κείνον ἄψαι πυρρὸν ὕμνων
 καὶ Μελίσσῳ, παγκρατίου στεφάνωμ' ἐπάξιον,
 ἔρνεϊ Τελεσιάδα.

May I find the Muses favourable to me so as to light that sort of beacon-fire of songs for Melissus, too, Telesiadas' offspring, as a crown worthy of the pancratium.

These lines insist on a close parallel: καὶ Μελίσσῳ (44) links a contemporary to heroic precedent;³¹ κείνον (43) is anaphoric and connects Pindar to Homeric precedent.³² Nonetheless, the differences between fire and celestial light reflect the differences between Pindar's poem as an event unfolding in the present and the established tradition of Homeric epic. The flame of song, as in the examples discussed earlier in this chapter, is linked to the moment of its utterance. The prayer looks to the future. ἄψαι (43) describes a beginning. Homer's wondrous words have already won a universal audience;³³ Pindar, speaking before or during the debut performance of his work, can only pray to the Muses, the goddesses who bestow the sort of aesthetic appeal that secures such a reception.³⁴

²⁹ For the voice of the author embodied in performance cf. *P.* 10.55–6: Ἐφουραίῳ | ὅπ' ἀμφὶ Πηνειὸν γλυκεῖαν προχεόντων ἑμάν. The Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, which purports to be the work of Homer (West (1975), Burkert (2001) 112, Janko (1982) 114–15), claims to provide a faithful record of a past performance (146–76). The hymn invariably presents itself as the reperformance of a classic. See Spelman (2018a).

³⁰ Cf. Hummel (1993) 280.

³¹ Cf. καὶ τόνδε (Simon. 11.23 W), also looking to Homeric precedent, *Ibyc.* S151.47 *PMGF*, Theoc. 22.221, Hor. *Carm.* 3.13.13, Currie (2005) 220.

³² Cf. τοῦθ' ... φέγγος (N. 9.42), also looking to Homeric precedent.

³³ Homer linked to a universal audience: Ford (2002) 78, Graziosi (2002) 59.

³⁴ With προφρόνων Μοικᾶν (*I.* 4.43) compare Κλεοῦς ἐθελοΐσας (N. 3.83), Κλεοῦς ἔκατι (*Pae.* 7a.7). On Pindar's relationship to the Muses see P. Murray (1981),

The juxtaposition of fire and celestial light encapsulates the way that performance relates to tradition in Pindaric epinician: the poet hopes that the passing fire of performance might be transmuted into the enduring celestial light of tradition. As Herington (1985) 62 writes, Pindar's 'task, both for his own sake and for that of his clients, was nothing less than to achieve incorporation into [the] tradition, or, in other words, to compose poems good enough to merit re-performance'. This task of canonization is a central theme of Pindar's self-reflexive work.

A literal upward movement of fire toward the heavens occurs later in Pindar's description of a distinctively Theban rite for the Heraclidae. Again flames are juxtaposed with celestial light. The light imagery of *Isthmian* 4 runs the course of a full day, from morning star (23–4) to the break of dawn (35b–6) to sunlight (41–2) to a flame blazing through the night (65–8):

τοῖσιν ἐν δυθμαῖσιν αὐγᾶν
 φλόξ ἀνατελλομένα συνεχὲς παννυχίζει,
 αἰθέρα κνισάεντι λακτίζουσα καπνώι,
 καὶ δεύτερον ἄμαρ ἐτείων τέρμ' ἀέθλων
 γίνεται, ἰσχύος ἔργον.

For them [*sc.* Heracles' sons] as the sun goes down a flame rises up and burns continually all night, kicking the heavens with its savour of smoke. And on the second day comes the climax of the annual games, the labour of strength.

Mirroring the setting sun, a flame rises like a planet and kicks against the sky, the realm of the celestial bodies.³⁵ The vigorous *λακτίζουσα* (66) suggests the victor's violent athletic discipline and perhaps also a request for entry.³⁶ In *Isthmian* 4, interconnected light imagery invites audiences to think about how epinician can resemble not just Homeric epic but also religious ritual. Pindar's flame of song, like the flame of sacrifices in honour of Heracles' sons, can be lit time and again. Like a cultic rite, epinician can approach the permanence of natural elements and of the gods through being repeated by

Finkelberg (1998) ch. 6, Kantzios (2003), Ledbetter (2003) ch. 3, and H. S. Mackie (2003) 47–54.

³⁵ See LSJ⁹ s.v. ἀνατέλλω II for the verb used of a rising heavenly body. In Homer, smoke (*Il.* 1.317) and fame (8.192) both reach the sky.

³⁶ The *pancratium* allowed kicking (Poliakoff (1982) 10–11). Instead of knocking on a door, the ancients sometimes kicked (Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 68).

successive generations of mortals. Like a cultic rite, Pindaric epinician gains its distinctive value as a social phenomenon in part from its participants' knowledge that they are partaking in a tradition stretching across time (IV.1). 'The actual value of [these] activities depends on their place in an ongoing human history' (Scheffler (2013) 54, speaking generally). *Isthmian* 4 participates in traditions both by looking backwards to a legacy of previous victory celebrations (25–7) and by looking forward to its future existence as a perpetuated literary artefact like Homeric epic (43–5).

A contrast between Theban origins and broader goals runs throughout *Isthmian* 4. Whether or not debuting at the festival that it describes, *Isthmian* 4 was first performed in Thebes for Thebans. Yet the poem also sought to engage a secondary audience through space and time. The Theban poet, who brings his civic identity into the text,³⁷ aims for his epinician first performed in his home town to achieve the universal dispersal of epic.³⁸ As the Theban Heracles' wide travels eventually won immortality on Olympus (58–60), so Pindar's poem, by its diffusion through the space that the Theban Heracles opened for civilized traffic (55–7),³⁹ can achieve a different but analogous sort of immortality like that already achieved by Homeric epic and by Heracles himself. Pindar will make Melissus honoured through this poem as Homer has made Ajax honoured with his immortal poetry (τετίμακεν, 37) and somewhat like how the gods have honoured Heracles with actual immortality (τετίματαί, 59). Melissus follows in Heracles' footsteps not only as a relatively small wrestler (50–5)⁴⁰ but also in his journey outward from Thebes into the world. Metaphorically, Melissus has reached all the way to the Pillars of Heracles by his supreme achievement (οἴκοθεν στάλαισιν ἄπτονθ' Ἡρακλείαις, 12). Through the wide travels of Pindar's poem celebrating that achievement he will also more literally travel

³⁷ ἀπτοί... αὔξομεν (I. 4.61–2). I take the plural as including the poet, the chorus, and other Thebans. Cf. I. 1.52, 7.37, 49, B. 2.9, Currie (2013) 271.

³⁸ Carey (2007) 209: 'the ideal was to free the victor's fame from the confines of its own polis by creating poetry of sufficient appeal to achieve re-performance in other cities.'

³⁹ Heracles' Libyan wrestling match presents him as globe-trotting civilizer (52–5; cf. 11–12). Song can spread throughout the world because he rendered it navigable (55–7; cf. Eur. *HF* 400–2). ἡμερώσεις (57), like English 'pacify', can connote violence (cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 14).

⁴⁰ Cf. *Il.* 2.529–30, 5.801, Boeke (2007) 128–9.

throughout the Greek-speaking world.⁴¹ The relationship between the local and the super-local is a central theme self-consciously negotiated throughout this text. Melissus began his athletic *cursus honorum* in the local Theban games as a boy and then progressed to Panhellenic victory at the Isthmus as a man.⁴² The Cleonymidae have been honoured in Thebes (7) and now will extend their reputation to a Hellenic level through Pindar's ode.

In *Isthmian* 4 Pindar invites reflection on the reception of his epinician outside Thebes through his own reception of the non-Theban poet Homer and his non-Theban subject Ajax (37–9):

... ὃς αὐτοῦ
 πᾶσαν ὀρθώσας ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν
 θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν.

... [Homer] who exalted his [*sc.* Ajax's] entire achievement and declared it with his staff of divine verses for future men to play.

Here λοιποῖς (39) recalls the Homeric motif whereby characters express their awareness that they will become characters known to 'men to come'.⁴³ This backward-looking reference to a forward-looking figuration of reception in an earlier work exemplifies a common Pindaric intertextual strategy and advances an implicit argument: this ode will survive as previous works have survived (IV.4). Pindar identifies his contemporary public with that later audience imagined by Homeric characters. His redeployment of epic material reconfirms characters' prediction already confirmed in Homer. ἀθύρειν (39) implicates the pleasure of secondary audiences, which secures a lasting afterlife for a work.⁴⁴ The infinitive, with its ludic connotations, is strikingly predicated of Ajax's deadly serious martial prowess and, implicitly, his suicide. The contrast between aesthetic pleasure and its grim object recalls and exemplifies the Homeric paradox that poetry recounting suffering can be a source

⁴¹ Cf. *I.* 4.41–2. Poetic glory as journey: Thgn. 247–50, B. 9.47–50, Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 332–3.

⁴² ὄδ' ἀνὴρ (*I.* 4.70) contrasts with παῖδων (71); cf. ἀνορέας (11).

⁴³ E.g. *Il.* 6.357–8, *Od.* 3.203–4, 8.579–80. Later evocations: Stesichorus 112.6 (with West's supplement), Sappho 147, [Hes.] fr. 212b.6, Thgn. 251, Eur. *Tro.* 1245, Theoc. 12.11, Callim. *Hy.* 5.121.

⁴⁴ Cf. ἄθ]υρμα (B. 9.87) with Maehler (1982–97) ii.173–4. ἀθύρειν (*I.* 4.39) refers to rhapsodic performance (Privitera (1982) 180, Currie (2004) 65), not later poets varying a theme (Willcock (1995) 80).

of enjoyment for a detached audience.⁴⁵ Later audiences enjoy hearing how Ajax killed others and killed himself. This is odd.

As Pindar's contemporaries could understand themselves as 'men to come' remembering past figures with detachment, so they could imagine future generations remembering them. Thinking of this abstracted perspective will have had importance for the pragmatic goals of Pindar's poem in its original setting. In *Isthmian* 4 the common theme of memorialization has a specific consolatory application: Melissus' contribution to his family's glory is weighed against the death of his relatives in war (16–17b). Pindar's poem is not just for the victor but for his whole family (τόνδε...γενεᾷ θαυμαστὸν ὕμνον, 21). Ajax's death is counterbalanced by his glorious afterlife; the Cleonymidae's grief may be alleviated but not erased by contemplating their future glory. ἐκλῶν γὰρ ὑπὸ χαρμάτων πῆμα θνάσκει | παλὶγκοτον δαμασθέν, 'for under the influence of noble delights pain dies and its malignancy is subdued' (O. 2.19–20).

For the first audience of this poem, the 'horizon of expectation' will have extended to include later audiences. *Isthmian* 4 highlights a paradox central to Pindaric epinician: the poem succeeds in its original setting by promising to transcend it. One can agree that each ode is designed to function for a specific audience at a specific moment in time, but one must add that each ode was also designed to function for other audiences at other moments in time. One may also add the corollary that it would have been important to a specific audience at a specific moment in time that the poem could also function for others. It is true that 'Pindar wrote to praise and to please his patrons' (Carnes (1995) 25), but pleasing his patrons involved pleasing many others. Even if we take as our goal describing the experience of the historical individuals who made up Pindar's first audiences, one should not underrate the degree to which their experience would have been shaped by their thoughts of the impending reception of what they heard (IV.2). It is characteristic of Pindar's self-reflexive approach that he weaves his commemorative *raison d'être* into the fabric of his work.⁴⁶ By making prospective reception

⁴⁵ Griffin (1980) 98, 101–2, Macleod (1983) 11.

⁴⁶ Carey (1995) 99: 'Pindar is also unusual in the degree to which he makes the actual process of composition the subject of his song, so that the odes acquire a reflexive quality.' Maehler (1963) 96: 'Pindar ist selbstbewußt wie kaum ein anderer griechischer Dichter.'

an important theme, Pindar encouraged his first audience to think of how the work that they heard enter the world in its first performance would later travel through time and space. Secondary audiences are encouraged to reflect on the qualities that have allowed the ode to travel from fifth-century Thebes to the point of reception, wherever and whenever that may be. Every audience's attention is drawn towards the act of composition and the act of reception.

Considering how future audiences might react to *Isthmian* 4 would have been a natural part of the experience of its first audience. Conversely, considering how its first audience might have reacted to Pindar's poem, as the last paragraphs have done, is a natural part of the experience of any secondary audience.⁴⁷ Understanding an epinician as a poetic artefact involves moving towards the perspective of those who experienced it as enacted celebration. As future reception was crucial to the pragmatic goals of *Isthmian* 4 in its immediate historical setting, so its unique origin in a specific situation is involved in its aesthetic success among secondary audiences. No small part of the appeal of the poem, the quality that enables it to spread abroad from Thebes, is derived from the vivid depiction of a diminutive but determined victor, his proud but vulnerable family, and a distinctively Theban ritual from the perspective of its participants. The specificity of the ode is intertwined with, not opposed to, its universal appeal.

The Theban poet, too, figures as a compelling character in his own right. 'Pindaric poetry fights ephemerality' (Scodel (2001) 125), and that battle, though played out in the real world beyond the text, is part of the internal drama of the poems. Each ode gradually becomes, as an utterance unfolding in real time,⁴⁸ a complete artefact shaped by the decisions of the poet into something worthy of being remembered. Each work is a stable edifice that records the process of its own ongoing construction, at once an event and an artefact (III).⁴⁹

Isthmian 4 suggests the limitations of approaching any epinician exclusively from the perspective of first performance or exclusively

⁴⁷ Felson (2004a) 264–5 discusses how secondary audiences may 're-imagine a lost historical performance'.

⁴⁸ On Pindar's 'oral subterfuge' see Carey (1981) 5, attractively labelling a phenomenon which earlier scholars had perceived (e.g. Setti (1970) 426). See further Miller (1993b), Scodel (1996), Bonifazi (2000).

⁴⁹ Consider *Pythian* 6: this ode is at once an event unfolding in the present (ἀναπολίζομεν, 3) and an enduring structure which has already been constructed (τετεύχεται, 9).

from the perspective of subsequent afterlife. One sees most by looking through both perspectives simultaneously. The Janus-faced nature of each epinician, both an unrepeatable event always already looking back on itself and a lasting monument contemplating its future, is captured in the opening lines of *Olympian* 7 (1–10):

Φιάλαν ὥς εἴ τις ἀφνειᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἐλών
 ἔνδον ἀμπέλου καχλάζουσιν δρόσῳ
 δωρήσεται
 νεανίαί γαμβρῶι προπίνων
 οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε, πάγχρυσον, κορυφὰν κτεάνων,
 κυμποςίου τε χάριν κᾶ-
 δός τε τιμάσαις ἐόν, ἐν δὲ φίλων
 παρέοντων θῆκε νιν ζαλωτὸν ὁμόφρονος εὐνᾶς·
 καὶ ἐγὼ νέκταρ χυτόν, Μοικᾶν δόσιν, ἀεθλοφόροις
 ἀνδράσιν πέμπων, γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός,
 ἰλάσκομαι,
 Ὀλυμπίαι Πυθοὶ τε νικῶν-
 τεσσιν·

As when someone takes from his wealthy hand a bowl frothing inside with the dew of the vine and gives it to his young son-in-law making a toast from one home to another home—a completely golden bowl, the pinnacle of his possessions—as he honours the delight of the symposium and his own family relationship, and with his friends present makes him envied for his like-minded marriage, so I too, sending poured nectar, the gift of the Muses and the sweet fruit of my mind, to prize-winning men, gain the favour of victors at Olympia and Pytho.

The sympotic scene of the simile resonates to some degree with the festive occasion at which this ode was first performed.⁵⁰ The imagery does not describe just any party, however, but a betrothal ceremony sealing a lasting relationship (6).⁵¹ Pindar's poem is compared to the gift of a golden cup, a keepsake, and nectar, an agent of immortalization (7).⁵² Like the act of giving an heirloom, epinician performance is a concrete action that derives its distinctive value from

⁵⁰ Cf. *θαλίαις* (O. 7.94). Sympotic performance for *Olympian* 7: Krummen (1990) 276, J. S. Clay (1999) 27–8; public festival: Currie (2011) 284–5, Athanassaki (2016) 93–4. These options can bleed into each other, as scholars have noted.

⁵¹ Braswell (1976) 240–2 identifies the ἐγγύησις.

⁵² Cf. O. 1.62 with Gerber (1982) 104, P. 9.63, fr. 194, Young (1968) 74, Steiner (1986) 130.

its consequences ramifying into the future. We misconstrue the essence of the genre if we discount the consciousness of posterity which pervades the act or if we sever the link between the artefact and its origins in an unrepeatable moment.

* * *

Isthmian 4 plays a key role in Krummen (1990; English translation 2014), an important book whose interests are in some ways diametrically opposite to mine. Krummen (2014) ‘leaves[s] out of the picture any question of the influence [Pindar’s] poems may have exercised at any time later than their first performance’ (9); I focus on the rhetoric and realities of subsequent reception. On my reading of *Isthmian* 4, light imagery calls to mind the life of this poem beyond its initial performance setting; on Krummen’s reading, light imagery ties the ode closely to its first performance. To close this chapter, I say a bit about how my discussion relates to Krummen’s contribution.

Krummen (2014) 41–116 argues that *Isthmian* 4 was first performed at the Heracleia, the festival described in lines 61–8. Some have expressed doubts.⁵³ In my opinion, the present-tense verbs in these lines are best taken to refer to actions recurrent through the years, not actions coterminous with performance (contrast Krummen (2014) 67). The verbs cover a multi-day ceremonial programme; not all of this could ever be actually taking place in any single *hic et nunc*.⁵⁴

Krummen’s interpretation focuses on lines 61–3 in particular: τῶι μὲν Ἀλεκτράδῃ ὑπερθεῖν δαῖτα πορύνοντες ἄστοι | καὶ νεόδματα στεφανώματα βωμῶν αὔξομεν | ἔμπυρα χαλκοαρᾶν ὀκτὼ θανόντων. As I understand the argument, Krummen takes this to mean, in my own words, ‘for him [*sc.* Heracles] above the Electran gates we citizens, preparing a feast, also sing of new-built crowns of altars, burnt offerings for the eight bronze-armoured men who died.’ But it is not natural to take στεφανώματα (62) in apposition with ἔμπυρα (63). Here καί (62) looks like it is coordinating two objects of the participle, as most commentators suppose, and not ‘marking a fresh start, with a certain degree of emphasis’ (Krummen (2014) 52). If στεφανώματα (62) can form a suitable direct object for πορύνοντες

⁵³ D’Alessio (1994a) 123 n. 19, F. Ferrari (2000a) 230, Carey (2007) 202, Eckerman (2015).

⁵⁴ I. 4.67–8: καὶ δεύτερον ἄμαρ ἐτείων τέρμ’ ἀέθλων | γίνεται.

(61), as I think that it can, then it would be hard for a listening or reading audience not to construe it as such. If *αὔξομεν* (62) means ‘we make great through song’ (cf. Krummer (2014) 53, 67) and ‘the chorus is speaking in the present tense...with reference to their role’ (Krummen (2014) 67), then it would be odd to have the chorus also be charged with providing a feast in honour of Heracles—and singing at the same time as they do so (*πορκύοντες*, 61, present). ‘We broadcast the fame of burnt offerings’ would not be ‘an eminently conventional thing to say in an epinician ode’ (pace Krummen (2014) 53).

I instead translate lines 61–3 thus: ‘for him (sc. Heracles) beyond the Electran gates we citizens provide a feast and newly-made crowns for altars and make great the burnt sacrifices for the eight bronze-armoured men who died.’ On this reading, *νεόδματα στεφανώματα βωμῶν* (62) refers not to metaphorical crowns of offerings or to some strange affair of altars constructed afresh year after year but rather to the commoner practice of putting actual wreaths on actual altars.⁵⁵ The fresh flowers of these wreaths, woven each year and placed on altars which endure through the years, embody cultic tradition continually renewed in the cycle of seasonal time. *αὔξομεν* (62) points up the lavishness of the sacrifices offered (cf. *O.* 3.39–40, *N.* 11.6–7, *Eur. Hipp.* 537, Slater s.v.). Native Thebans may have been privy to aspects of the Heracleia which enriched their experience of Pindar’s poem and which we may work in hopes of recovering, but his extraordinarily extended description of this ritual seems sufficient to inscribe it as a meaningful and intelligible part of the composition for secondary audiences outside Thebes.

Since *αὔξομεν* (62) does not refer to the chorus singing *Isthmian* 4, the text does not explicitly situate itself at the festival which it describes. I am not sure that we have sufficient reason to suppose that it was first performed there. If it was, as is quite possible, then this fact would not be a sufficient explanation for why the Heracleia figure so prominently in the thematic economy of this poem, as Krummen richly demonstrates that it does.⁵⁶ As we saw in the last chapter, some

⁵⁵ Cf. D’Alessio (2000) 245–6. For the practice see Blech (1982) 272–3, 295–302, adding Callim. *Hy.* 2.80–2 to the evidence cited there. See also Olivieri (2011) 116.

⁵⁶ Krummen (2014) 69: ‘what we have here is an interpretation of the cult in the service of the epinician poem.’

of Pindar's other poems explicitly locate themselves in a ritual setting but do not draw much of their meaning as literature from that setting. If a ritual setting is important to *Isthmian 4* and to other odes, then this cannot be simply because Pindar's odes generally were a reflex of ritualized performance occasions and were composed for those present then and there.

We do not have to hypothesize that *Isthmian 4* was first performed at the Heracleia in order to interpret the Heracleia as a meaningful part of this poem; if the poem was performed there, this would not be a sufficient explanation of why this festival makes such a robust contribution to the meaning of this text. This primarily negative and cautious conclusion by no means invalidates Krummen's ground-breaking chapter on *Isthmian 4*, which does not stand or fall on the point examined here but remains a valuable contribution regardless.⁵⁷ Our very different discussions of the light imagery in this poem might turn out to illuminate different aspects of some highly complex phenomena.

⁵⁷ Cf. Agócs (2015) 15.

III

Event and Artefact

From Performance to Permanence

This chapter examines the interplay between first performance and subsequent reception in fifth-century lyric and especially in Pindar's epinicians. A dynamic between debut occasion and later afterlife is foreign to our contemporary conceptions of lyric and so might make an especially rewarding topic of study.

Pindar's poems often chart their journey from event to artefact. Some recent scholarship explores how early Greek poetry reactivates the past.¹ Less attention has been paid to how poets envisage their works as being reactivated in the future. By strongly identifying an ode with its first performance, one can neglect the way in which the stages of an ode's life in the world become a prominent concern within the texts.

The epinician narrator, as D'Alessio (2004) demonstrates, speaks before or during the first performance of his work.² So anchored in time, he often prefigures the future. Pindar addresses his contemporaries in the *hic et nunc* but speaks in a stage whisper and tells them that posterity is listening. Indeed, Pindaric epinician sometimes

¹ Epic: Bakker (1993a, 1993b); hymns: J. S. Clay (2011b) 236.

² A striking exception would be the 'inscriptional' ποτ' (Young (1983a)). *N.* 9.52 is the strongest candidate (cf. Braswell (1999) 143–4). Other temporal particles may be focalized from future time (e.g. Eur. *El.* 975 with Denniston (1939) 168). *N.* 4.16 (κελάδῃς, aorist) is apparently part of a past counterfactual conditional—as if Pindar's poem already existed in order to be reperformed. Aorist and perfect verbs sometimes look backward to a completed section (*P.* 11.38–40, *N.* 3.65, 7.76) or to a completed poem (*O.* 10.98, 100, *I.* 2.46, Pfeijffer (1999b) 32). Cf. *exegi* (*Hor. Carm.* 3.30.1, *Ov. Met.* 15.871) and the 'epistolary aorist' focalized from the perspective of the receiver.

emphasizes its permanence at the same time as it depicts itself as an ephemeral event. The poet is interested in bringing these dimensions of his work into contact with each other. At the risk of meriting a charge of pretension, one might say that these texts are interested in bringing attention to their complex ontological status as both events and artefacts. In *Olympian* 4 the revel band has just arrived to perform (ἵκει, 10) but it has come in order to inaugurate the glory of the newly refounded Camarina (κυῖδος ὄρσαι, 11). This ode is thus at once a passing revel and a poetic lodestar shining through space and time: τόνδε κῶμον, | χρονιώτατον φάος, 'this celebratory revel, longest-lasting light' (9–10).³ In *Pythian* 5, Carrhotus is celebrated in the present moment in a blaze of song (σὲ δ' ἡύκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες, 45) but he already holds Pindar's words as a lasting memorial (ἔχεις... λόγων φερτάτων | μναμήϊ, 46–9). At the close of *Isthmian* 5 the poet, who has come to Aegina (21–2), describes a crown presented in a face-to-face situation and also prefigures his 'winged poem' flying beyond the island (62–3): λάμβανέ οἱ στέφανον, φέρε δ' εὔμαλλον μίτραν, | καὶ πτερόεντα νέον κύπεμψον ὕμνον, 'take up a crown for him, bring a headband of fine wool, and send on its way this winged new poem.' The speaker grounds himself in the moment when his poem enters the world and begins to travel abroad (cf. Silk (1998) 79).

Pindar was not the only poet interested in depicting his work as simultaneously a performance and a literary artefact. Bacchylides fr. 20b, for Alexander, son of Amyntas, opens with a brief cletic hymn (3–4): δεῦρ' ἐς ἐμὰς χέρας ὀρμαίνω τι πέμπ[ειν | χρύσειον Μουσῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πτερόν, '[o *barbitos*], come here into my hands, for I am eager to send a golden wing of the Muses to Alexander.' Composition is presented as extemporaneous, yet the poem is not merely a performance improvised for those within earshot.⁴ πέμπ[ειν... πτερόν (3–4) calls to mind the journey of the ode through space to its distant Macedonian addressee and beyond. χρύσειον (4)

³ Cf. Gerber (1987) 15–16, Mader (1990) 34–5. Eckerman (2010) 310 explains the emphasis on durability through the victor's memory of the revel. But the revel celebration is identified with the poem. The next sentence refers to the glory which Psauis hopes to bring to his city (O. 4.11–12). Χαρίτων θ' ἔκατι (9) emphasizes poetic merit. The Charites, who endow song with beauty, will help this song to last (cf. O. 9.26–8, N. 4.7–8).

⁴ Cf. Carey (1989c) 564 n. 49, Fearn (2007) 41.

points up its durability.⁵ The following lines look to a recurring performance scenario (ἐν] εἰκάδεσ[σιν... εὔτε, 5–6; cf. Eur. *Alc.* 449–51). The voice of the poet melds into the ‘voice’ (γᾶρυν, 2) of the lyre, which speaks to later audiences.

Pindar’s epinicians bear the imprint of their occasional genesis, but they also thematize the process of transcending that genesis. The following sections treat in greater detail six more complex passages that trace their own journey from performance to permanence. I then use these passages as case studies and primary evidence in order to draw overarching conclusions about the relationship between the rhetoric of permanence and the realities of literary practices. By studying Pindar’s references to the life of his work we can better see how these poems fit into the real world and found a place in a poetic culture.

1. ISTHMIAN 2.43–8

μή νυν, ὅτι φθονεραὶ
 θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφικρέμονται ἐλπίδες,
 μήτ’ ἀρετάν ποτε κυγάτω πατρώϊαν,
 μηδὲ τούτδ’ ὕμνους· ἐπεὶ τοι
 οὐκ ἐλινύσσοντας αὐτοὺς ἐργασάμαν.
 ταῦτα, Νικάσιππ’, ἀπόνεμνον, ὅταν
 ξείνον ἐμὸν ἡθαῖον ἔλθῃς.

And so then let him [*sc.* Thrasybulus] never, since envious hopes hang about the minds of mortals, keep silent his father’s excellence or these songs, for truly I did not fashion them in order to remain in one place. Impart these things to him, Nicasippus, whenever you come to my honourable host.

Pindar, speaking before first performance, presents his composition as a completed affair (ἐργασάμαν, 46, aorist). He next begins to look to the impending stages of its existence. Nicasippus will deliver the ode to its addressee for its debut some time in the near future,⁶ but this will not be the end of its life. The poet’s skill ensures that it will travel

⁵ Maehler (2004) 214: ‘gold neither rusts nor rots, hence its significance as a symbol of eternity.’

⁶ Perhaps Nicasippus is to lead the chorus: so e.g. Mullen (1982) 34; cf. O. 6.87–8. Catenacci (1999) argues that ἀπόνεμνον (*I.* 2.47) means ‘read’ (metaphorically).

abroad to meet audiences outside Acragas.⁷ ‘Not in order to remain still’ (46) is polar litotes for ‘in order to travel widely’.⁸ Initial delivery at one moment contrasts with widespread circulation afterwards. μήτ’... ποτε κυγάτω (44) exhorts Thrasybulus to remember his father through this poem time and again.⁹

2. OLYMPIAN 10.91–6

The same relationship between definite debut and indefinite reception is articulated in the end of *Olympian* 10. This work has come into the world in Pindar’s native Thebes (τὰ παρ’ εὐκλείῃ Δίρκαι χρόνῳ μὲν φάνεν, 85); it will be executed in choral performance among the Epizephyrean Locrians (χλιδῶσα δὲ μολπὰ πρὸς κάλαμον ἀντιάξει μελέων, 84, future).¹⁰ In time to come it will travel outward and endure (91–6):

καὶ ὅταν καλὰ ἔρξαις ἀοιδᾶς ἄτερ,
 Ἀγχιδαμ’, εἰς Αἶδα σταθμόν
 ἀνὴρ ἵκηται, κενεὰ πνεύσαις ἔπορε μόχθῳ
 βραχὺ τι τερπνόν. τὴν δ’ ἄδυεπής τε λύρα
 γλυκύς τ’ αὐλὸς ἀναπάσσει χάριν
 τρέφοντι δ’ εὐρὺ κλέος
 κόραι Πιερίδες Διός.

And so, when a man has performed fine things, Hagesidamus, and goes without song into the dwelling of Hades, in vain has he exerted himself and granted to his toil but some brief delight. Upon you, however, the lyre with sweet words and melodious *aulos* are shedding *charis*. The Pierian daughters of Zeus foster widespread fame.

Performance, an ongoing process (ἀναπάσσει, 94, present) with musical accompaniment (λύρα... αὐλός, 93–4) focalized from the perspective of the addressee (τὴν, 93), contrasts with enduring fame. The poet has finished the composition promised in the proem:¹¹ he

⁷ Morrison (2007a) 91, Athanassaki (2012) 155, Clear (2013) 34 n. 9.

⁸ Cf. N. 5.1–5, Köhnken (1976) 66, Race (1990) 75.

⁹ Cf. θαμά (N. 4.15) for the idea and μή ποτε (O. 9.77) for the grammar.

¹⁰ See D’Alessio (2004) 291–2 on the play of tenses in this passage. μολπὰ is the *vox propria* for enacted choral performance (Cingano (1993) 349–53).

¹¹ γλυκὺ γὰρ αὐτῷ μελὸς ὀφείλων (O. 10.3) → γλυκύς τ’ αὐλὸς ἀναπάσσει χάριν (94).

uses the aorist to describe a completed task (ἀμφέπεσον, 98; αἶνῃσα, 100). As the work ends, its afterlife comes into view: widespread reception (εὐρὸν κλέος, 95) is outside the poet's control and depends on the Muses. He has joined them in celebrating the victor (συμφεπαπτόμενος, 97), but his part in the process is finished.

τρέφοντι (95) evokes gradual, ongoing growth in the future.¹² The passage of time, which had increased the poet's debt (7–8), will now increase the value of his repayment (VI.3). The temporally 'short' (βραχύ, 93) pleasure of one who dies without a poetic memorial contrasts with the spatially 'wide' (εὐρύ, 95) dissemination of song that will ensure durability (cf. Simon. 16 W). As Ganymede won immortality through youthful beauty (104–5), so the beautiful victor has found poetic immortality through youthful athletic success (cf. Ibyc. S151.46–8). Even when he ages, his youth will be preserved in a song, which, like a young heir (86), consoles him with the knowledge that some part of him survives death (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.6–7). Within the world of the text the victor will remain attractive and young as he was on the day of his victory even when he reaches old age and even after he dies (νεότατος τὸ πάλιν ἦδη, 87; εἰς Αἶδα σταθμόν, 92). The victor, a boy, is invited to look forward from the present moment toward time beyond his demise.

Olympian 10 begins as a name in the poet's mind (1–3), then becomes a composition (85), then a choral performance (93–4), then a completed event (97–100), and finally an enduring literary artefact that contains all these within itself.

3. BACCHYLIDES 13.220–31

ἐλπίδι θυμὸν λαίν[-
 τᾱι καὶ ἐγὼ πίνυνο[ε
 φοινικοκραδέμενοι [τε Μούσαις
 ὕμνων τινὰ τάνδε ν[εόπλοκον δόσιν
 φαίνω, ξενίαν τε [φιλά-
 γλαον γεραίρω,

¹² Cf. Pind. *N.* 8.40–2, *B.* 3.90–2, 13.205–7, *Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 4.1773–5, *Prop.* 3.1.33–4, *Hor. Carm.* 1.12.45–6, 3.30.8, Salvador Castillo (1996) 126–30.

τὰν ἐμοὶ Λάμπων [
 βληχρὰν ἐπαθρήσας¹³ τ[
 τὰν εἰς ἐτύμως ἄρα Κλειὺν
 πανθαλῆς ἐμαῖς ἐνέσταξ[εν φρασίν,
 τερψιμεπεῖς νιν ἀ[ο]ιδαί
 παντὶ καρύζοντι λα[ῶ]ι.

... warms the heart with hope. And so too I, trusting in it and in the Muses of the purple headdress, reveal this new-woven gift of song, as it were, and I honour the splendour-loving hospitality, which for me Lampon... [not] slight... may you examine... if truly all-flourishing Cleo instilled it in my mind, sweet-worded songs will announce him to all the people.

Bacchylides describes the inspiration and composition of his poem prior to performance (ἐμαῖς ἐνέσταξ[εν φρασίν, 229, aorist).¹⁴ This preparation contrasts with its public debut and subsequent afterlife. φαίνω (224, present) describes the revelation of a new work. καρύζοντι (231) evokes the herald's task of spreading 'news'. ταῖ καὶ ἐγώ (221) suggests that the lost preceding lines perhaps dealt with other pursuits aimed at glory, which introduced poetry as a climax.¹⁵ Within the present moment, the speaker is gladdened by the prospect of the impending afterlife of his work.¹⁶ This future-directed hope depends on the Muses as a group (222) and in particular on the significantly named Cleo (228),¹⁷ singled out as source of inspiration. Her influence will be revealed in the aesthetic charm (τερψιμεπεῖς, 230) which can secure the κλέος promised by her name.

Though looking forward to its reception, this ode remains anchored to the time and place of its debut.¹⁸ The closing future paradoxically looks forward to the first performance of the poem.¹⁹ Lampon (226),

¹³ ἐπαθρήσας (B. 13.227), implying close inspection (Dodds (1960) 231 on Eur. *Bacch.* 1281), will be an optative of wish rather than the Aeolic form of the aorist participle. Cf. B. 5.6–8 (ἄθρησεν), P. 2.69–71 (ἄθρησεν), and O. 10.9 (ὀράτω, Fennell's conjecture, which I accept), all addressed to a patron and emphasizing aesthetic quality.

¹⁴ φρήν as location of composition: Alcm. 3.1, Pind. N. 4.8, *Pae.* 9.37, B. 12.3.

¹⁵ So, attractively, e.g. Jebb (1905) 354; cf. *I.* 1.47–51, B. 10.35–45.

¹⁶ ἐλπίδι θυμὸν ἰαίν[- (B. 13.220). The verb can only denote positive anticipation.

¹⁷ ἐτύμως (B. 13.228) might point up the 'etymology'; cf. Garvie (1986) 309–10, Diggle (1970) 146, F. Cairns (2002) 471–2.

¹⁸ Compare and contrast Calame (2009) 12–14.

¹⁹ Cf. D'Alessio (2004) 285–8 on Pindar. D. L. Cairns (2010) 331 takes the verb as 'a straight-forward text-external future... referring to the immediate and long-term reception of the ode by its public'. But παντὶ... λα[ῶ]ι (B. 13.231) will refer to those present at the first performance, not an indefinite public (contrast Fearn (2007) 158).

Bacchylides' patron, and an immediate Aeginetan audience (231), both explicitly named, are invited to share the poet's hope for the future of his work. The final sentence is couched as an indirect question (ἐὶκ ἐτύμως ἄρα, 228) to be answered by an impending public reception (παντί... λα[ῶ]ι, 231). Those present at the first performance would have been invited to ask themselves if Cleo had inspired the poet and if his work deserved to survive beyond this occasion. The Aeginetans could have imagined how 'all-subduing time' (cf. 204–7) would in the future increase the glory of a recent victory as the poem that they heard enter the world would be remembered in other settings and travel throughout the Greek world (cf. 178–81).

4. PINDAR FR. 52O

Only the final lines of this piece, a *prosodion* rather than a paean (D'Alessio (1997) 25), survive in a readable state. This poem also closed by juxtaposing first performance and later reception. The event to be remembered, however, is not an epinician revel but a cultic rite of some sort (31–40):

εὐδοξίας δ' ἐπίχειρα δε[
 θε· λίγεια μὲν Μοῖς' ἀφα.[
 μων τελευταῖς δαρίζε[ι
 λόγον τερπνῶν ἐπέων [
 μνάσει δὲ καί τινα ναίο[ν-
 θ' ἐκὰς ἡρωῖδος
 θεαρίας· βασιαν-
 χθέντι δὲ χρυσῶι τέλος· [
 γνώμας δὲ ταχέας συν[
 σοφαί γὰρ αἰρείεται πλε[ι]

....reward of fame...the clear-sounding Muse...rites...speaks softly a speech of pleasing verses...and she will make even someone living far away be mindful of the delegation in honour of the hero. For, when it has been tested, gold...end...quick thoughts...for is exalted with skill...

The sense 'all the people' is much commoner than 'every people'. Other odes apparently address an undifferentiated citizen body: Pind. O. 7.93–4, N. 10.23, *Pae.* 2.3; cf. δημον ἅπαντα (Od. 9.6).

εὐδοξίας δ' ἐπείχειρα (31) refers to poetry and introduces the closing theme.²⁰ The next sentence contrasts an initial ritual context and subsequent reception amongst widespread secondary audiences. The description of the Muse, in the present tense, highlights musical execution tied to a specific occasion: λίγεια μὲν Μοῖς...τελευταῖς ὀαρίζε[ι (32–3). Next λόγον τερπνῶν ἐπέων (34) describes the sort of poetic excellence that may win an extended reception. Future audiences are invoked with the future tense (μνάσει...τινα, 35). 'Someone living far off' suggests a broad, indefinite public defined only by its absence from the location of performance.²¹ A soft utterance in one particular time and place will paradoxically reach far and wide through its aesthetic appeal.²² θεαρίας (37) probably picks up τελευταῖς (33): even one not present at its first performance will think of the cultic event which this poem commemorates. In the *Hymn to Apollo*, Homer somewhat similarly imagines spreading the repute of a festival through the poem which he performs there (146–76).²³

Lines 37–40 talk about some test of the ability of a work to attract a secondary audience.²⁴ Generalizations about poetry thus contextualize the preceding prediction about this particular poem. Pindar's work 'will be shown to be good if it stands the test of time' (Rutherford (1992) 62), but the preceding lines stress spatial dissemination more than chronological durability. The 'test' in question is thus perhaps primarily the judgement of audiences removed from the ritual who will be impressed by the poet's skill (κοφίαι, 40; cf. τερπνῶν

²⁰ Rutherford (2001a) 407 attractively takes the genitive as defining ('wages consisting of renown'). But one expects a genitive after ἐπείχειρα to denote that *for which* the reward is given (cf. Jebb (1900) 151). The idea that one receives poetic commemoration as a reward for fame is paradoxical but Pindaric: *P.* 4.67–9, *I.* 2.30–4, *Pae.* 6.123–9.

²¹ S-M (in their apparatus) moot a reference to the poet. This is discordant with the generalized description and would be difficult to parallel. This vague language seems unlikely to describe only those in a particular city which commissioned this work (contrast Rutherford (2001a) 409; cf. D'Alessio (1997) 34).

²² ὀαρίζω has erotic connotations early on but became a less marked word (Braswell (1988) 222–3 on *P.* 4.137). Pindaric usages of the verb and its cognates seem compatible with 'say/sing softly' (cf. Slater s.v. ὄσπος).

²³ Cf. Thalmann (1984) 132, J. S. Clay (2006) 52, Spelman (2018a).

²⁴ For the metaphor see Imperio (2000). Time as βάνανος: eleg. adesp. 22 W. In γνώμας δὲ ταχέας (fr. 52o.39) Rutherford (2001a) 410, comparing *P.* 1.82–3, sees 'perhaps a condemnation of hasty judgements of value' (note also *P.* 4.139–40). Alternatively, perhaps excellent poetry, like gold, evinces its worth quickly (cf. Thgn. 119–20, Pind. *O.* 9.21–5, *N.* 5.1–5).

ἐπέων, 34). Secondary reception, it seems, is the index of good poetry as the touchstone is an index of genuine gold.

5. NEMEAN 3.76–84

χαῖρε, φίλος· ἐγὼ τόδε τοι
πέμπω μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῶι
κὺν γάλακτι, κυρναμένα δ' ἔερς' ἀμφέπει,
πόμ' αἰοίδιμον Αἰολίσσιν ἐν πνοαῖσιν αὐλῶν,
ὀψέ περ. ἔστι δ' αἰετὸς ὠκύς ἐν ποτανοῖς,
ὃς ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος,
δαφνοῖδ' ἄγρην ποσὶν·
κραγέται δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται.
τίν γε μέν, εὐθρόνου Κλεοῦς ἐθέλοι-
σας, ἀεθλοφόρου λήματος ἔνεκεν
Νεμέας Ἐπιδαυρόθεν τ' ἄπο καὶ Μεγάρων δέδορκεν φάος.

Farewell, friend. I am sending you this mixture of honey with white milk, which the stirred foam crowns, a drink of glorious song accompanied by the Aeolian breaths of *auloi*, late though it is. The eagle is swift among birds, which suddenly snatches, searching from afar, the bloodied prey in its feet, while the cawing jackdaws spend their time down below. But for you, since fair-throned Cleo is willing and because of your victorious determination, from Nemea, Epidaurus, and Megara has shone the light of glory.

A newly created poetic libation (πόμ' αἰοίδιμον, 79), still frothing from recent mixture (78), will quench the immediate, pressing 'thirst' (διψῆι, 6) for commemoration that occasioned it.²⁵ This image expresses the freshness of a concoction just created in the professional poet's native Thebes (cf. τηλόθε, 81) and 'sent off' to Aegina, thereby enacting the opening prayer to the Muse to come to the island for the debut of the poem (ἵκεο Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἶγιναν, 3). Musical accompaniment is closely tied to premiere performance (Αἰολίσσιν ἐν πνοαῖσιν αὐλῶν, 79). Emphasis on initial performance in turn sets in relief the permanence of this work. One might compare Catullus 1 for the contrast between a composition as both a fresh product (*arida*

²⁵ Cf. O. 11.1–6, Hubbard (1985) 37.

modo pumice expolitum, 2) and potentially a lasting monument (*quod, <ο> patrona virgo, | plus uno maneat perenne saeclo*, 9–10).²⁶

The primary contrast at work throughout this passage is between inferior praise poets who cannot achieve lasting glory and Pindar, an exceptional professional who justifies his fee by immortalizing his patron (VII.4). As in *Olympian* 10, Pindar's other 'late' ode, enduring fame renders a delay in first performance relatively trivial. The afterlife of the poem depends on the significantly named Cleo (83). Though from one perspective this work is now being executed in performance, from another perspective the victor's lasting fame, by virtue of the existence of the ode,²⁷ has already been secured: *δέδορκεν φάος* (84). The verb in the final syllables of the poem should be taken at least in part as self-referential: now that the composition is completed, the victor's glory is a *fait accompli* (cf. *δέδεκται*, *P.* 1.100). Theognis somewhat similarly speaks of his addressee's fame as already ensured by his work (*ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα*, 236) but still to be realized in the future (*ἄϊκονται*, 243; cf. *Pind. O.* 10.95–6).

6. BACCHYLIDES 3.90–8

ἀρετᾶ[ς γε μ]ὲν οὐ μινύθει
 βροτῶν ἅμα [ὥμ]ατι φέγγος, ἀλλὰ
 Μοῦσά νιν τρ[έφει.] Τέρων, σὺ δ' ὄλβου
 κάλλιστ' ἐπεδ[εῖξ]αι θνατοῖς
 ἄνθεα· πράξα[ντι] δ' εὔ
 οὐ φέρει κόσμ[ον ci]ω-
 πά· σὺν δ' ἀλαθ[εῖαι] καλῶν²⁸
 καὶ μελιγλώσσου τις ὑμνήσει χάριν
 Κηῖας ἀγδόνος.

The radiance of excellence, however, does not diminish together with the body of mortals, but rather the Muse fosters it. Hieron, you have displayed to mortals most beautiful flowers of wealth. Silence does not bring an

²⁶ Catullus' model, Callim. *Aet.* fr. 7.13–14, similarly contrasts materiality and transcendental potential (cf. Cinna 13–14 Hollis, Catull. 95.7–8).

²⁷ *εὐθρόνου Κλεοῦς ἐθελόιας* (N. 3.83) shows that poetry and not just athletics is the source of fame.

²⁸ For the construction, obelized by Hutchinson (2001), cf. B. 9.85, Woodbury (1969), D. L. Cairns (2010) 214–15.

adornment on one who has succeeded; but together with the truthful remembrance of your fine deeds someone will also sing of the *charis* of the Cean nightingale.

Here *φέγγος* (91) evokes the sun and thus links fame with the paradigmatically immortal, unchanging natural elements which are contrasted with mortals in the preceding lines.²⁹ In time the body wanes; in time fame waxes within the poetic tradition. Direct address at least imaginatively situates Bacchylides in a moment of face-to-face communication with his contemporary. This moment is to a certain degree preserved within the text: as this poem circulates, Hieron will be verbally conjured back into presence even when his body has vanished from the world (90–2; cf. IV.1). Both the poet and his patron will be viewed together from the distance of posterity as historical personalities worthy of being remembered for their respective superlative accomplishments (cf. Ibyc. S151.47–8).

τις ὑμνήσει (97) echoes the Homeric trope whereby a speaker imagines how after his death ‘someone’ will remember him in speech.³⁰ But whereas Homeric characters only vaguely imagine remembrance spurred by events or a monument, Bacchylides has a more specific and self-referential vision. Following a description of poetic immortality (90–2), *ὑμνήσει* (97), a normal word for lyric performance, will refer to future performances of Bacchylides’ own song. The *χάριν* (97) of ‘the sweet-tongued nightingale’ probably then describes the charming quality of this ode.³¹ Bacchylides’ skill attracts future audiences, who will choose to remember this work. The final lines of the poem move progressively forward in time from Hieron’s success (92–4), to an immediate need for loud celebration (94–6), to an indefinite future in which this work will be sung time and again (96–8). From the perspective of all secondary audiences, this final sentence is a self-fulfilling prophecy which reflexively calls attention to the act of reception. Indeed, epinicians always present a

²⁹ *βαθὺς μὲν | αἰθὴρ ἀμίαντος· ὕδωρ δὲ πόντου | οὐ κάπεται* (B. 3.85–7). On the concatenation of thought here see Carey (1977–8), Capra (2001) 267–72, Stenger (2004) 97–107, 111–12, D. L. Cairns (2010) 212–13.

³⁰ E.g. Il. 7.91: *ὥς ποτὲ τις ἔρείει· τὸ δ’ ἐμὸν κλέος οὐ ποτ’ ὀλεῖται*. On Homeric ‘*τις-Reden*’ see J. R. Wilson (1979), de Jong (1987).

³¹ Cf. MacLachlan (1993) 98–9 n. 13, Stenger (2004) 113–14, Morrison (2007a) 14, and especially D. L. Cairns (2010) 215. Pace Woodbury (1969) 335 n. 12 and Lennartz (1997), *ὑμνήσει* (B. 3.97) calls for an expressed direct object, as is normal, and finds one to hand in *χάριν* (97).

triumphant history of their life in the world: they succeeded if anyone receives the message of success.

7. CONCLUSIONS

These passages link distinct but related stages in the life of a poem. The autobiography, as it were, of an ode is often a prominent theme: each begins in the poet's mind, premieres in choral performance before a particular audience, and then reaches into the world and into the future. I now draw out overarching patterns from the passages that we have discussed and propose some connections between the rhetorical patterns which they display and the culture to which they belonged. The way in which these poems envision their journeys through the world can tell us something about the literary environment which they navigated.

Many of these passages come from the end of poems.³² Morrison (2012) 132 argues that Pindar frontloads essential encomiastic information like the victor's name because these purple patches were more likely to be reperformed than a whole composition (cf. Aeschin. 3.135). Yet this information might tend to appear at the beginning simply to announce the subject of a work, as in hexameter proems (Arist. *Rhet.* 1415a). The fact that references to secondary audiences often occur towards the end of poems suggests that Pindar and Bacchylides conceived of such audiences as, at least paradigmatically, experiencing their works as integral wholes (cf. Pl. *Prt.* 339b; compare and contrast *Leg.* 810e–811a). Other passages (e.g. *P.* 6.1–18) imply that an ode will endure as a stable, complete entity. One might suppose that the relations of meaning obtaining between the parts of an ode provided the strongest impetus for reperforming the whole and aiming for fidelity in doing so.

Appearing at the end of a poem, the rhetoric of permanence provides not only a sense of closure, but also a sense of openness. At the moment when the work stops, it points outward to its continuous existence. 'The life of the poem is not concluded but, in fact,

³² Cf. Kranz (1961), Rutherford (1997b) 46–8. I avoid the modern term *σφρηγίς*, which has a misleading air of antiquity and derives in part from a debatable interpretation of Thgn. 19.

begins at the moment of its completion, at that moment when it has successfully fulfilled the need of the motivating event for permanent remembrance' (Greengard (1980) 120). A closing future verb often captures 'the encomiastic paradox ... that the ode itself points beyond itself by referring to its own future reception' (Pelliccia (1995) 331). The rhetoric of permanence provides a climax; in a way each work is oriented toward this *τέλος*. By pointing to later reception in the final lines, Pindar suggests that he has achieved 'the final triumph of poetry' (R. W. B. Burton (1962) 89). The poem, as an utterance unfolding in real time, eventually earns the extended afterlife which it envisions in its final lines. Some odes, like *Olympian* 10 and *Nemean* 3, are clearly concerned with mapping their life in the world on to the linear progression of the text.³³ To the limited extent that one may generalize that scene-setting references to performance context tend to occur at the beginning of odes and references to poetic afterlife tend to occur toward the end of odes, one may say that epinicians tend to replicate and dramatize their large-scale existence in the world within the small-scale structure of the text.

None of the passages discussed above furnishes anything approaching a clear picture of secondary audiences. Whereas epinician can describe its performance occasion with considerable vividness (e.g. *P.* 11.1–15), vagueness characterizes descriptions of reception. If descriptions of performance can aim for the 'reality effect' through specificity, descriptions of reception can aim for an 'ideality effect' through vagueness. Such passages are sometimes vivid enough to stir the imagination but indefinite enough to call to mind a generalized phenomenon repeating through time. We have repeatedly seen secondary audiences evoked simply as 'someone'.³⁴ This faceless 'someone' is defined only by his absence from the debut performance. Anyone may see himself in this featureless portrait. Rather than conceptualizing Pindar's audience as consisting only of definite individuals about whom we can attempt to know a great deal, we should imagine a plurality of audiences, some little more familiar to the poet than to us.³⁵ 'The contextualizing manoeuvre' with its 'drive towards

³³ D'Alessio (2004) 277.

³⁴ Cf. e.g. *Il.* 7.87–91, *Thgn.* 22, *Sappho* 147, *Simon.* 11.24 W, *Pind.* *N.* 7.68, fr. 520.35, *B.* 3.97, *Callim.* fr. 384.23.

³⁵ Contrast Krummen (1990) 4: 'die Gedichte selbst richten sich an ein unmittelbar anwesendes, dem Dichter bekanntes Publikum.'

specificity' (Fearn (2013) 231) does not provide the best tools for coming to grips with Pindar's unspecific descriptions of his secondary audiences or their experience of his poems. Whereas some scholars seek to identify various specific reperformance scenarios for Pindar's odes, his own vision of the reception of his work is marked by a distinct indistinctness.

Vague descriptions of reception involve secondary audiences in the text but also highlight their distance from the vividly described original occasion, which remains paradigmatic yet not fully recoverable. Morrison (2012) 115 writes that 'each re-performance creates [a performance] frame anew for its audience as it is performed.' But a description of youths by the Asopus obviously does not really conjure into being a chorus of youths or the Aeginetan Asopus (*N.* 3.1–5).³⁶ The epinicians are interested not only in imaginatively transporting secondary audiences back to their occasions but also in charting the distance covered and all that is lost over the journey. When *Pythian* 1 describes men who will know Hieron only through words (*οἶον*, 93), audiences fitting this description may feel a sense of rupture as well as connection with the past. Pindar's first audiences were invited to imagine future generations about whom they knew little; for Pindar's secondary audiences, aspects of his first audience's experience remain opaque. Both initial and subsequent audiences meet on the common ground of the text and encounter something only partially known. 'Pindar's poetry both transcends and embodies historical contingency' (Phillips (2016) 5).

It is not clear that 'reperformance', a concept which has been submitted to far more extensive theoretical scrutiny outside the discipline of classics than inside it, provides the best framework for thinking about how Pindar's odes were experienced by later audiences. The word may be too narrow to describe historical realities. Does reading an epinician count as reperforming it? Would singing it to oneself count? 'Reperformance' may also fail to capture the possibilities of audience response, insofar as it implies that all later reception can be nothing more than an echo, an evocation, and a doomed attempt at replication. We need not think this way ourselves or assume that all of Pindar's audiences did. In its favour, 'reperformance' does justice to how important the original occasion is to any

³⁶ For the scene see Privitera (1988) and Pfeijffer (1999a) 247.

subsequent experience of an ode. It also has the merit of being firmly entrenched in the working vocabulary of classical studies. I use the word freely but generally prefer a range of other terms, often vaguer or more capacious, to describe how Pindar's odes lived and live in the world (cf. N. 4.6).

Why would 'someone' in the fifth-century Greek world be interested in Pindar's occasional poetry? Most of the passages discussed above more or less explicitly link dissemination to authorial excellence.³⁷ This suggests that many, potentially including those indifferent to athletics, might have been interested in epinicians primarily as aesthetic artefacts. The intended secondary audience of these poems is thus not just 'someone' but, slightly more specifically, everyone who cares about good poetry. These would be the connoisseurs envisioned by Theognis: *πάσι δ' ὅσοις μέμηλε καὶ ἔσσομένοις αἰοιδῇ | ἔσσηι ὁμῶς, ὄφρ' ἄν γῆ τε καὶ ἡέλιος*, 'and you will be a subject of song for all those who concern themselves with song, even for men to come, as long as the earth and sun exist' (251–2).³⁸ It is reasonable to infer that such people really existed in the archaic period. Archaic poems provide our best evidence for their existence.

Whereas initial performance is often linked to descriptions of music, subsequent reception is consistently linked to words. Throughout Pindar's work the verbal element, independent of music and dance, is consistently presented as securing an extended reception.³⁹ This suggests that for secondary audiences, as for us, epinician was in large part a verbal experience. It is misleading to describe the 'extant texts of ancient Greek choral lyric' as 'the bare bones of productions that fused poetry and music with dance' (G. Ferrari (2008) 1) or 'a silent record of a much richer experience' (Thomas (1992) 119) or to assert that 'what is left to us, to be sure, is nothing but the skeleton of a gaudy spectacle' (McNeal (1978) 136). Pindar probably did not transcribe the music

³⁷ Cf. O. 9.21–7, P. 3.112–15, N. 4.6–8, I. 7.18–19, B. 3.96–8. At Simon. 11.23 W we should probably read *μελ]ίφρονα* (Parsons) and understand a similar connection between an attractive song and indefinite secondary reception (*ἵνα τις*, 24).

³⁸ For the grammar see Hudson-Williams (1910) 193; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 60–1, *Hymn. Hom.* 3.188, Eur. fr. 1028.1 *TrGF*.

³⁹ *ἐξ ἐπέων κελαδεννῶν* (P. 3.113); *παγὰν ἀμβροσίῳ ἐπέων* (4.299); *λόγων φερτάτων | μναμή* (5.48–9); *ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει* (N. 4.6); *οὔρον ἐπέων* (6.28b); *αἰοδαὶ καὶ λόγοι* (30); *κλυταῖς ἐπέων αἰοδαῖς* (7.16); *λόγον Ὀδυσσεός* (21); *ἐπέων... φωνᾶεν... εἴ τις εὖ εἴπηι τι* (I. 4.39–41); *λόγον ἐκέρδαναν* (5.27); *κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν* (7.19); *τερπνῶν ἐπέων* (fr. 520.34). Words as separable element: O. 2.46, 3.8, P. 8.29–31, N. 3.11–12, *Pae.* 9.35–7.

that originally accompanied his odes (Prauscello (2006) ch. 1.4), and we do not know the degree to which music was reliably transmitted from the first performance onwards. Music and dance, which may well have varied greatly between reperformances, will have played a key role in the experience of various secondary audiences, but these were not necessarily the centrepiece of that experience or conceived as Pindar's distinctive contribution.

Pindar brings the view *sub specie aeternitatis* into a moment of performance and also transmits the view from a certain *hic et nunc* into perpetuity. He describes his poems' debut performance and he describes their subsequent reception. By depicting within his work the various stages of its life in the world, the poet prevents all of his audiences, who encounter a poem at one point in time, from wholly identifying the existence of a poem with that particular stage.⁴⁰ Any audience, including that present at the first performance, is obliged to think of the full life of a poem and thereby its meaning to others. Whereas some scholarship seeks to recover the perspective of 'a particular audience [who] watched each performance' (Burnett (2005) 5), the Pindaric epinician encourages its various audiences to take on multiple perspectives simultaneously. A plurality of perspectives is so important to the meaning of these works that an attempt to isolate one strand among them may turn out to be reductive.⁴¹

Pindar's first audiences were invited to imagine the perspectives of future audiences; later audiences are invited to imagine the perspectives of his first audiences. Thus, in a certain way, these divergent perspectives can begin to converge. Diverse audiences may assume the viewpoints of others; all audiences may thereby share a sense of sharing in a tradition and in a community reaching through space and time.

⁴⁰ Mullen (1982) 42: Pindar 'wished for his original audiences to keep before their minds the ode's destined survival as text no less than for his later readers to keep in mind its radiant first appearance as music and dance.'

⁴¹ Cf. Citroni (2009) on Horace.

IV

The Poetics of Permanence

Previous chapters showed how Pindar's odes envision a layered public and trace their own journey from performance to permanence. This chapter explores some different ways in which the idea of permanence matters for understanding the epinicians as literature. Each section focuses on one particular ode in order to bring out a broader feature of Pindar's poetics.

The first two sections discuss the dynamics of tradition from the perspectives of secondary and initial audiences, respectively. *Pythian* 1 illustrates how the aesthetics of traditionality can enrich the experience of a secondary audience. In reading or listening to Pindar's odes, one may travel through time and participate in a tradition, as the poems advertise. *Nemean* 4 sheds light on how the possibility of participating in a tradition might have also mattered to Pindar's first audiences. According to the logic of this ode, the therapeutic power of an epinician within its initial performance occasion depends in part on its ability to transcend that setting and to be remembered in the future.

Sections 3 and 4 concentrate on intertextuality and describe two particular ways in which Pindar engages with older literature in order to situate his own work within a canon of enduring poems. By depicting a contemporary learning from older poetry in *Pythian* 6, he shows how later audiences might approach his own poems as a source of time-tested wisdom. By alluding to the actual reception of hexameter epic and setting himself alongside Homer in *Pythian* 3, he invites reflection on the future reception of his work and writes himself into a privileged place within an immanent literary history. These two complementary sections illustrate how Pindar aligns himself with the two most distinguished authors in the archaic Greek literary canon, Homer and Hesiod.

The last two sections focus on communication. Section 5 examines interactions and parallels between epinicians and early inscribed epigrams. By comparing another sort of text, we can get a better idea of the sort of memorialization which Pindar's odes provide. *Nemean* 5 exemplifies how the poet draws on the imagery and language of monumental commemoration in order to depict the enduring communicative powers of his poetry. Finally, Section 6 enters into one of the most complex controversies in Pindaric scholarship and seeks to vindicate a broad heuristic principle of interpretation by applying it to a particular and particularly challenging test case. *Nemean* 7 claims to communicate with an immediate audience on Aegina and a secondary audience in time to come. I interpret the notoriously difficult final lines of this ode in a manner consonant with this self-presentation and discuss the possible relevance of the final triad of *Paeon* 6. It is argued that the end of *Nemean* 7, like the rest of Pindar's poetry, can be adequately understood through knowledge available to expert fifth-century secondary audiences.

One of the most interesting historical things about Pindar's epinicians is that they, unlike much else, are still around for us to read some 2,500 years later—and still around in remarkably uncorrupted form at that. To describe how and why this has happened would be to tell a long and complicated story that extends far beyond the texts and includes a considerable element of contingency, but it is a story that would be incomplete, and even perhaps incomprehensible, without addressing some aspects of the texts themselves. One can understand Pindar's epinicians as actors complicit in their own ongoing reception (cf. Felski (2015) 162–72). The following sections try in various ways to do so.

1. TIME TRAVEL AND TRADITION: *PYTHIAN* 1

It avails not, neither time or place—distance avails not;
 I am with you, you men and women of a generation, or ever so
 many generations hence;
 I project myself—also I return—I am with you, and know how it is.

Walt Whitman, *Crossing Brooklyn Ferry*

Tradition in Pindar is not, as in Homeric poetry, a massive yet mostly silent force behind the text but rather a frequent object of concerted attention on the surface, as it were, of the discourse. *Pythian* 1 illustrates how the aesthetics of traditionality may enrich an audience's experience of an ode. The end of this poem looks backward to the tradition from which it emerges and forward towards its life as part of a tradition. Pindar's engagement with the past suggests how future audiences might engage with his work (92–8):

ὀπιθόμβροτον αὔχημα δόξας
οἶον ἀποικομένων ἀνδρῶν δίαιταν μανύει
καὶ λογίοις καὶ αἰοιδοῖς. οὐ φθίνει Κροί-
σου φιλόφρων ἀρετά.
τὸν δὲ ταύρωι χαλκῆωι καυτῆρα νηλέα νόον
ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντῇ φάτις,
οὐδὲ νιν φόρμιγγες ὑπωρόφιοι κοινανίαν
μαλθακὰν παίδων ὀάροισι δέκονται.

The posthumous vaunt of glory alone discloses the way of life of men who are dead and gone to both men versed in tales and singers. The kind-minded excellence of Croesus does not wither, but everywhere hateful speech presses down Phalaris, the man of ruthless mind who burned men in his bronze bull, and lyres under roofs do not welcome him into gentle fellowship with boys' voices.

Phalaris does not live on in song, but Hieron will. Like the parallel opening address to the lyre (1–4), these final lines gain resonance from an implicit similarity with the debut performance of this ode: Hieron's fame will be perpetuated in settings resembling to some degree the original occasion of *Pythian* 1.¹ At the very least, the lyre connects first performance and subsequent reception (φόρμιγξ, 1→φόρμιγγες, 98). The moment of performance will be partially perpetuated when the ode is recalled in the future. Indeed, Pindar's poems celebrating Hieron were evidently in fact reperformed in symposia like those described in the last lines of this poem.² Later audiences in such settings could feel

¹ In contrast with the closing private sympotic scene, *ἐν εὐφώνοις θαλάιαις ὀνυμαστάν* (P. 1.38) describes future public celebrations in parallel with the present; cf. Athanassaki (2009) 250 and Budelmann (2012) 180–2.

² See Athanassaki (2009) 273 with references.

connected to the debut of this ode ‘whenever’ the lyre began to play it (ὁπότεαν, 4; cf. Morrison (2007a) 99–100).

Within the moment of performance, Hieron is invited to ‘learn to perceive both his past and his present from the vantage of posterity’ (Walsh (1984) 51). Earlier Pindar exhorted him to pursue the pleasure of his contemporaries’ praise (εἴπερ τι φιλεῖς ἀκοᾶν ἀδείαν αἰεὶ κλύειν, 90); now he exhorts him to secure a legacy which may outlast his ability to enjoy it. Hieron is invited to imagine his life as a totality viewed from the outside. After his demise only (οἶον, 93) repute will communicate to posterity his victory and the values that it embodies. δῖαιταν (93) denotes a sphere wider than just athletics, as the following examples confirm.

Pindar substantiates his claim about ‘the posthumous vaunt of glory’ (ὀπιθόμβροτον αὔχημα δόξας, 92)³ by describing the afterlife of Croesus and Phalaris, two earlier kings whom the king Hieron could have known only through repute. These lines enact the maxim which they expound: this ode embodies how the past is remembered.⁴ οὐ φθίνει (94) evokes and varies the traditional phrase κλέος ἄφθιτον, ‘unwithering glory’,⁵ while ἐχθρά... κατέχει παντῶι φάτις (96) describes a contemporary reality as a shared experience. A juxtaposition of non-Greek and local examples from both sides of the Mediterranean presumes a community of remembrance stretching through time and space and emphatically including Hieron’s native Sicily. By remembering two older monarchs, Pindar gives Hieron an idea of how he might someday be remembered in the future.

Besides these explicit examples of enduring fame, Pindar also implicitly substantiates a claim about the memorializing power of poetry through an allusion to Theognis’ parallel description of his

³ The hapax adjective is generally taken to mean ‘that lives after a man’ (cf. *Fama superstes*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.2.8). It might instead mean ‘existing among men hereafter’: cf. Σ Pind. P. 1.179a, Il. 6.357–8: δπῖσσω | ἀνθρώποισι πελώμεθ’ αἰδοῖμοι ἐς κομμένοισι. The ὀπιεθο- prefix is normally spatial.

⁴ I take καὶ λογίοις καὶ αἰδοῖς (P. 1.94) as indirect object (cf. N. 6.45–6) rather than as a dative of means; *contra* Calabrese De Feo (1987) 33, Gentili et al. (1995) 361, whose construction suits my reading excellently. But for that sense one might expect καὶ λόγοις καὶ αἰδοῖς (cf. N. 6.30). A personal indirect object suits the verb (cf. I. 8.55–55a).

⁵ Traditional at least within Greek poetry: Il. 9.413, Sa. 44.4, [Hes.] fr. 70.5, Ibys. S151.47.

addressee's immortality.⁶ Like Pindar, Theognis looks forward to the reception of his work (237–46):

κοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷς' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον
 πωτήσῃ κατὰ γῆν πᾶσαν ἀειρόμενος
 ῥῆϊδίως· θοίνῃς δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσσει
 ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν,
 καί σε σὺν αὐλίσκοις λιγυφθόγγοις νέοι ἄνδρες
 εὐκόσμως ἔρατοὶ καλὰ τε καὶ λιγέα
 ἄκονται. καὶ ὅταν δνοφερῆς ὑπὸ κέυθει γαίης
 βῆς πολυκωκύτου εἰς Αἶδαο δόμους,
 οὐδέ ποτ' οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀπολείς κλέος, ἀλλὰ μελήσεις
 ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις· αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα...

To you I have given wings with which you will fly over the boundless sea and the entire earth, soaring easily. You will be present at all banquets and feasts, reclining in the mouths of many, and accompanied by clear-sounding little *auloi* attractive young men will sing of you in fine and clear and orderly fashion. And whenever you go beneath the dark hollows of the earth, into Hades' home full of wailing, never, even after you have died, will you lose your fame, but you with your unwithering name will be a concern to mankind.

As in *Pythian* 3, so too in Theognis fame is perpetuated in festive occasions throughout the Greek world (θοίνῃς δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι... ἐν πάσαις, Thgn. 239–40; cf. πανταῖ... ὑπωρόφια, *P.* 1.96–7). In Theognis as well young performers suggest continuous life in song ever refreshed after an individual's death and the lasting didactic value of poetry for new generations (νέοι ἄνδρες, Thgn. 241; παίδων ὄαροις, *P.* 1.98). Both Pindar and Theognis play with the unusual idea of a deceased person becoming present once more as a member of a symposium. παρέσσει... κείμενος (Thgn. 239–40) evokes a reclining symposiast; νῦν... δέκονται (*P.* 1.97–8) connotes admission indoors.⁷

⁶ So, more cautiously, Carey (1989c) 554, Athanassaki (2009) 257–8. D. L. Cairns (2010) 319 sees an allusion to this Theognidean passage at B. 13.180–1. Hubbard (2007) 194 n. 4, 201 collects Theognidian quotations and allusions from the archaic and classical periods; cf. Selle (2008) 398–401.

⁷ Cf. Alc. 374, Thgn. 1045–6, Heath (1988) 180. *κοινανίαν* (*P.* 1.97) might be taken as an accusative of result, as M. L. West *per litteras* proposes. It evokes the communal ethos of the symposium: cf. Pind. fr. 124a.2–3, Thgn. 495, O. Murray (1985) 40. *παίδων* (98) could describe a chorus (Loscalzo (2003) 101–2, Currie (2004) 58), but the vague register and Theognidean intertext instead suggest a generalizing plural. No other description of epinician reperformance involves a chorus. Choruses do not usually dance indoors, but note Xen. *Hier.* 6.2. A normal dining room was not capacious enough for full-scale choral performance (cf. Morgan (2015) 112 n. 95).

Even when his body has left the world (*ἀποιχομένων ἀνδρῶν*, P. 1.93), Hieron, like Cynus before him, will return to the symposium through poetry. The idea is all the more striking when we recall passages in which death is associated with one's absence from sympotic pleasures.⁸ Both passages are much concerned with names. In both Pindar and Theognis the description of future reception is vivid enough to stir the imagination but indefinite enough to evoke a composite, generalized scene being repeated indefinitely. The symposium is frequently and rightly discussed in scholarship as a key locus for forming and performing identity and community in this period; Theognis and Pindar work to create imaginary communities of countless symposia reaching through space and time.

This allusion to Theognis exemplifies a common Pindaric intertextual strategy: a backward-looking reference to a forward-looking figuration of future reception in an earlier work. It also advances a common implicit argument: Pindar's ode will survive as the works to which he alludes have survived and be understood as part of the same tradition that includes these earlier poems. In pre-Pindaric lyric, too, intertextuality sometimes advances a similar implicit argument.⁹ On a most general level, intertextuality is related to the rhetoric of permanence. As Barchiesi (1993) 352 puts it, 'to some extent, every allusive text makes also some broader reflexive statement: "I am poetry," or "fiction", or "I belong in a *tradition*"' (my emphasis). It is no coincidence that many major instances of the rhetoric of permanence throughout the ages are highly allusive. In describing how they will be remembered, poets often evoke earlier poets who did the same and whose predictions were proven true in time. Thus Theocritus, for example, argues for the value of his own immortalizing poetry by recalling how Simonides immortalized his patrons: *θεῖος ἀοιδὸς ὁ Κήιος αἰόλα φωνέων | βάρβιτον ἐς πολύχορδον ἐν ἀνδράσι θῆκ' ὀνομαστούς | ὀπλοτέροις*, 'the divine singer of Ceos spoke intricate words and set them [*sc.* his patrons] into his many-stringed *barbitos* to become famous among later generations' (16.44–6). These words evoke Simonides' description of how his own predecessor Homer had immortalized the Greeks who fought at Troy: *καὶ ἐπώνυμον*

⁸ E.g. Alc. 38a, Thgn. 973–8, anon. 1009 *PMG* (attributed to Pindar by Bergk), Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.17–18.

⁹ Cf. Sappho 44 with Spelman (2017b), Ibyc. S151 with V.2.C, Simon. 11.15–18 W.

ὅπ[λοτέρ]οιςιν | ποίησ' ἡμ]ιθέων ὠκύμορον γενεῇ[ν], '[Homer] made the quick-fated race of half-gods famous among later generations' (Simon. 11.17–18 W).¹⁰ Both Theocritus and Simonides, like Pindar, use intertextuality to link themselves into a chain of enduring works.

Looking backward to past history and a poetic antecedent and also simultaneously looking forward to its own reception in time to come, Pindar's *Pythian* 1 was and is about its ability to participate in a tradition. Like the lines of Whitman quoted above, this ode evokes a sense of a community unbounded by space and time. Pindar, also, returns. Pindaric scholarship often invokes tradition as a means of explicating puzzling formal features of the text but seldom as a means of explaining how these poems engaged their audiences. Thinking about tradition in a philosophical rather than philological framework might help to clarify what makes these odes not only intelligible but also potentially compelling. Traditions, according to Scheffler (2010) 305, are 'human practices whose organising purpose is to preserve what is valued beyond the lifespan of any single individual or generation'. Taking part in a traditional practice enables one 'to travel back to a time before she lived and forward to a time when she will live no more' (Scheffler (2010) 301). One becomes 'heir to, and custodian of, values' (Scheffler (2010) 305).

In reading Pindar's odes one may travel through time and participate in a tradition, as the poems advertise. Both the forward and the backward aspects of time travel are important. On the one hand, it can be satisfying to receive these poems and participate self-consciously in a tradition. For those Greeks who encountered *Pythian* 1 in a sympotic setting like that described in lines 97–8, this might have been an especially natural response to Pindar's work. On the other hand, by taking on the perspective of the victor and poet, audiences may also vicariously fulfil a desire to reach into the future. The next section further investigates how all audiences can assume the viewpoint of the individual for whom an ode was composed.

Juxtaposing two figures of the past who are now remembered very differently by subsequent generations, the closing lines of *Pythian* 1

¹⁰ I am not convinced by the minority of scholars who would assign ἐπώνυμον (Simon. 11.17 W) a sense other than 'famous'. Brillante (2007) 105–9 persuasively defends the interpretation adopted here.

foreground the active role that later audiences take in choosing to perpetuate a certain tradition and the ethical aspect of that choice. At the end of this ode, 'we become aware that we have been participating in the creation of tradition' (Morgan (2015) 344). Modern audiences, who inhabit a world very different from that of Pindar and know from the historical record what sort of deeds Hieron's 'way of living' (93) entailed, might be able to participate in the tradition projected by this poem only in a qualified way.

2. THE VICTOR'S PERSPECTIVE: *NEMEAN* 4

ego vero omnia quae gerebam, iam tum in gerendo spargere me ac disseminare arbitrabar in orbis terrae memoriam sempiternam. haec vero sive a meo sensu post mortem afutura est sive—ut sapientissimi homines putaverunt—ad aliquam mei partem pertinebit, nunc quidem certe cogitatione quadam speque delector.

For my part, in the very enactment of my exploits, I felt that I was sowing broadcast to reap an undying memory throughout the whole world. It may be that after death I shall be insensible to it. It may be that, as philosophers have held, some part of my being shall yet be conscious of it. Be that as it may, now at any rate I find satisfaction in the thought and in the hope.

Cicero *Pro Archia* 30 (trans. N. H. Watts)

Not least through frequent apostrophes, Pindar's epinicians invite their audiences to think of the perspective of their human subjects, at the moment of performance among the most fortunate men in the Greek world. In a sense the typologized character of 'the victor' is the stock protagonist of this genre. His psychology is a frequent theme. Entering into his mental landscape, one sees how an exceptional individual copes with the universal problem of mortality.

Pindar sometimes describes how a hope for posthumous glory affects the life of an individual. Like an heir, an epinician is a source of joy to the victor while he is alive precisely because it will outlast his lifetime (*O.* 10.86–96; cf. fr. 94a.16–21). 'In seeking to ensure the survival over time of what one values, one diminishes the perceived

significance of one's own death' (Scheffler (2010) 305). Chromius' old age is ameliorated because of his youthful accomplishments: ἐκ πόνων δ', οἷ cὺν νεότατι γένωνται cὺν τε δίκαι, τελέθει πρὸς γῆρας αἰὼν ἡμέρα, 'from labours which come about in youth and with justice life becomes gentle towards old age' (N. 9.44). It is not the deeds themselves alone that have this effect: δέδορκεν | παιδὶ τοῦθ' Ἀγησιδάμου φέγγος ἐν ἀλικίαι πρώται, 'for the son of Hagesidamus in his earliest youth such a light of fame has shone forth' (41–2; cf. ἐπίδοξον... κῦδος, 46–7, Braswell (1999) 131). In *Isthmian* 6 Lampon, the victor's father, prays to enjoy a similarly easy old age (10–16):

εἰ γάρ τις ἀνθρώπων δαπάναι τε χαρεῖς
καὶ πόνωι πράσσει θεοδμάτων ἀρετάς
cὺν τέ οἱ δαίμων φντεύει δόξαν ἐπήρατον, ἐ-
cχατιαῖς ἤδη πρὸς ὄλβου
βάλλετ' ἄγκυραν θεότιμος ἑών.
τοίαισιν ὀργαῖς εὐχεται
ἀντιάσαις Αἶδαν γῆράς τε δέξασθαι πολιόν
ὁ Κλεονίκου παῖς.

For if someone, delighting in expenditure and labour, accomplishes divinely fashioned deeds of excellence, and also a god plants longed-for fame for him, at the furthest shores of happiness he has already cast his anchor, honoured by the gods. The son of Cleonicus prays that with these sorts of feelings he may meet and accept Hades and grey old age.

τοίαισιν ὀργαῖς (14) looks backward to the preceding description of supreme achievement and refers to Lampon's contented acceptance of old age and death, enabled in part by his knowledge that his glory (δόξαν, 12), secured through Pindar's poem, will survive him.¹¹

Elsewhere, too, Pindar describes how a hope for future glory illuminates the present.¹² The proem of *Nemean* 4 may be profitably read alongside such passages. This ode opens by depicting the value of debut performance as deriving in part from future reception. The poem justifies itself by elucidating from the victor's perspective

¹¹ Compare and contrast Farnell (1930–2) ii.359, Thummer (1968–9) ii.102, Privitera (1982) 205. Cf. *O.* 5.21–4 and 8.72–3: Αἶδα τοι λάβεται | ἄρμενα πράξαις ἀνὴρ.

¹² *P.* 3.110–11, 8.88–92. Cf. *fr.* 214, *B.* 1.163–5, 10.39–41, 13.220–1.

the worth of celebration and song, a constituent part of celebration (1–16):¹³

Ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα πόνων κεκρμένων
 ἱατρός· αἱ δὲ σοφαί
 Μοισᾶν θύγατρες αἰοδαὶ θέλξαν νιν ἀπτόμεναι.
 οὐδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσον γε μαλθακὰ τεύχει
 γυῖα, τόσσον εὐλογία φόρμιγγι συνάορος.
 ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει,
 ὅ τι κε σὺν Χαρίτων τύχαι
 γλώσσα φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας.
 τό μοι θέμεν Κρονίδαι τε Διὶ καὶ Νεμέαι
 Τιμαράρχου τε πάλαι
 ὕμνου προκώμιον εἶη· δέξαιτο δ' Αἰακιδᾶν
 ἡύπυργον ἔδος, δίκαι ξεναρκέι κοινόν
 φέγγος. εἰ δ' ἔτι ζαμενεῖ Τιμόκριτος ἀλίωι
 σὺν πατὴρ ἐθάλπετο, ποικίλον κιθαρίζων
 θαμὰ κε, τῶιδε μέλει κλιθείς,
 υἱὸν κελάδῃσε καλλίνικον...

The best doctor of labours judged successful is celebration. Songs, wise daughters of the Muses, soothe those toils as they touch them. Not even warm water relaxes the limbs as much as praise fit together with the lyre. More enduring than deeds lives the speech which, with the Graces' blessing, the tongue takes out from the deep mind. May I set down that sort of speech for Cronus' son Zeus and for Nemea and for Timarchus' wrestling as a prelude for my revel song; and may the Aeacidae's well-walled seat accept it, that shared star of justice that protects those from other lands. If your father Timocritus were still warmed by the blazing sun, often he would have played an elaborate tune on the cithara, and, relying on this song, would have celebrated his victorious son...

In the moment of its debut performance, an epinician has physical effects on a body still sore from recent toil. These concrete, immediate benefits paradoxically derive in part from the victor's knowledge that the praise which he receives will outlast the moment in which he receives it. The opening sentences of this ode form a chain of reasoning moving forward in time, not a heap of loosely-related maxims. Celebration is the best healer for successful exertions (1–2); this is in

¹³ Cf. B. 10.52–4, 11.12. Bundy (1986) 2 posits an overly strong opposition between poetry and celebration but introduces a useful distinction (cf. Machemer (1993) 137–8). A sustained medical conceit shows that *εὐφροσύνα* (N. 4.1) and *αἰοδαί* (3) work together in tandem.

part because poems charm pain to forgetfulness (2–5);¹⁴ poems have this capability in part because poetry can last longer than deeds (6–8). δ(έ) (6) is not contrastive but continuative and in part explanatory.¹⁵ A doctor prolongs mortal life; epinician alleviates pain by promising remembrance. The therapeutic power of poetry derives in part from its permanence. Thus, for example, *Nemean* 8 charms the victor's pain through healing song (ἐπαοιδαῖς δ' ἀνὴρ | νόδονον καὶ τις κάματος θῆκεν, 49–50) which constitutes a lasting memorial (λίθον Μοισαῖον, 47).¹⁶ As Cicero in the passage quoted above takes pleasure in contemplating his posthumous repute, so Timasarchus might forget his present pains by turning his sights to the future.¹⁷

The opening of *Nemean* 4 highlights its ability to last beyond its first utterance. Poetry is first described as an ongoing event with musical accompaniment immediately after victory (ἐδλογία φόρμυγγι κυνάρορος, 5), then as an enduring verbal artefact (ῥῆμα, 6). The verb βιοτεύει (6), strikingly predicated of an inorganic subject, implies that an ode has a life of its own. Timocritus' hypothetical reperfor-mances (13–16) illustrate concretely how a poem might live on in the world. The frequency with which he would have re-enacted the first performance of this poem (θαμά, 15) reflects his pride and the excellence of the composition (cf. 7–8).¹⁸ Initial performance merges with potential reperformance from line 16 onwards as Pindar's words coincide with Timocritus' hypothetical rendition of Pindar's words. Timocritus in a way lives on and sings within this poem.¹⁹

Speaking at the moment of initial performance, Pindar hopes to create a work good enough to survive (9–11).²⁰ *Nemean* 4 is vividly

¹⁴ γιν (N. 4.3) refers to πόνων (1). It is unattractive to take εὐφροσύνα (1) as the antecedent since the required sense of θέλξαν (3) is unlikely (Henry (2005) 28).

¹⁵ See Denniston 169–70, Slater s.v. δέ 2h.

¹⁶ κάματος (N. 8.50) implicates not just sore muscles but the victor's grief for his deceased father (44–5). Healing linked to remembrance: P. 3.72–6 with Young (1968) 62, 4.187 with Race (1985) 353–4, N. 3.17–18, Thummer (1968–9) ii.24–5.

¹⁷ Cf. M. Griffith (2009) 90–2: 'this process of "immortalization" had another dimension, too, in the immediate present.'

¹⁸ Currie (2004) 89 thinks of anniversary celebrations. Pindaric representations of reception are typically vague.

¹⁹ Cf. Sappho P. Köln XI 429 1.4–6: γέρθε δὲ γὰρ... ὡς νῦν ἔπι γὰρ. At N. 5.25 and following Pindar's song merges with the Muses' song (Cannatà Fera (2000) 144–5, de Jong (2009) 104).

²⁰ τό (N. 4.9) looks back to the idea of a lasting verbal expression (6–8), not simply the preceding statement: contrast Fennell (1899) 42, Willcock (1995) 96. It would not

tied to an occasion as real as a sore muscle but projects itself into an indefinite future. Anyone who experiences the poem, including its addressee, Timasarchus of Aegina, is thus invited to view it both as a performance and as an enduring literary artefact. This doubling of perspective, according to the logic of Pindar's poem, contributes to the healing power of epinician. The therapeutic efficacy of the poem in its first performance is derived in part from its ability to transcend that setting. The immediate pragmatic effects of the ode and its aspirations towards later reception are intertwined.

In attempting to imagine the mindset of those who first heard Pindar's poems, we should not discount how much their experience would have been shaped by thinking of the future. As participating in a tradition can matter for Pindar's secondary audiences who travel back in time through the odes, so too the possibility of travelling into the future and being remembered as part of a tradition might have mattered considerably for those who commissioned these works.

3. EPINICIAN LESSONS: *PYTHIAN* 6

τ]οιάδε τις δείξας παραδε[ί]γματα παισὶν ἑαυτῷ
μᾶλλον ὀρέσασθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς προτρέπει.

By showing such examples to his own children one encourages them all the more to strive for excellence.

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Pindar's *Pythian* 6 celebrates the chariot victory of Xenocrates of Acragas in 490 and promises to commemorate this achievement into perpetuity. Why might a fifth-century Greek have cared about such an occasional poem celebrating a victor from another city? One may plausibly suppose two types of reasons, which should not be

make sense to wish 'may I say what I just said;' a wish to produce an excellent poem makes excellent sense: cf. *P.* 9.89a–90, *N.* 7.67–8, 9.53–5, *I.* 4.43–5, Bury (1890) 69, Lattmann (2010) 139. On *προκώμιον* (*N.* 4.11), an ad hoc coinage transparently modelled on *προοίμιον*, see Agócs (2012) 204. I understand this to mean 'a prelude to my epinician'. The idea of Pindar's ode preceding a revel finds no solid support. Scholars now generally agree that passages like *I.* 4.72b (*κωμάξομαι*) and *I.* 8.3–4 (*ἀνεγείρετω | κῶμον*) do not look beyond the occasion of the ode. Contrast Maslov (2015) 313–15.

kept rigidly separate.²¹ We can hypothesize that one of Pindar's contemporaries would be interested in such poems not only because he enjoyed them but also because he thought that they expressed something relevant to his life.²² Pindar's epinicians are not just about athletics but also about what Nagel (1979) ix terms 'mortal questions': 'mortal life: how to understand it and how to live it'.

Scholars have not failed to note the didactic dimension of epinician.²³ Fifth-century Greeks may well have agreed that the epinician poet had an instructive role while not approaching his work primarily as an ethics lecture. The didactic function of epinician is sometimes explicit. The victor may learn from the poem.²⁴ Others can learn from the victor's example contained within an epinician.²⁵ Some myths expound morals of explicitly universal applicability (e.g. *P.* 2.21–3, 41). Gnomai express general truths.²⁶ At a fundamental level, praise is related to instruction and has an inherent protreptic facet (cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1367b.37). The didactic function of epinician is not to be simplistically understood as imparting true beliefs to the ignorant.²⁷ We will be headed in a better direction if we conceive of it as a persuasive attempt to get audiences more fully to grasp and inhabit certain ethical values.

This section discusses how Pindar presents his contemporaries as learning from previous literature so as to call to mind the afterlife of his own work as a source of instruction for his audiences. By depicting people learning from older poetry, the poet suggests how others might relate to his work. Inset acts of reception prefigure future acts of reception and provide a sort of script for later audiences. Pindar, his patrons, and his various audiences participate in a literary culture in which poetry is valued as a lasting source of ethical learning.

²¹ Cf. Peponi (2012) 80–1 on *Od.* 12.188.

²² Cf. Taplin (1999) 56 on the appeal of Athenian tragedy outside Athens.

²³ Herington (1985) 70, Gentili (1988) 3, Carey (1995) 86, Boeke (2007) 24–5.

²⁴ *P.* 2.72: γένοι', οἷος ἐκκ' μαθών, 'having learned what sort of man you are, show yourself to be such.' Cf. Thummer (1972) 295–6, Carey (1981) 49–50, Most (1985a) 101–3.

²⁵ *I.* 5.54–6: μαρνάσθω τις ἔρδων | ἀμφ' ἀέθλοισιν γενεάν Κλεονίκου | ἐκμαθών. Here *τις* evokes secondary audiences unfamiliar with the family.

²⁶ Payne (2006) 182: 'gnomic lyric... presupposes its own transhistorical reception by addressing abstract formulations to a universal subject created by its own pro-nominal structure.'

²⁷ Carey (1999) 29: 'didacticism in Greek poetry is not necessarily to be understood... as the presentation of new knowledge; it is more often to be found in the (re)presentation of shared values.'

Older hexameter poets are repeatedly cited as authoritative sources of wisdom. For Pindar and his contemporaries these canonical poets were, among other things, storehouses of quotable maxims.²⁸ In *Pythian* 4 Arcesilas, possessed of a broad command of Homeric poetry, is asked to show his understanding of one particular Homeric saying (277–8):²⁹

τῶν δ' Ὀμήρου καὶ τόδε συνθέμενος
 ῥῆμα πόρυν' ἄγγελον ἐκλὸν ἔφα τι-
 μὰν μεγίσταν πράγματι παντὶ φέρειν.

And among the sayings of Homer, understand this particular one and put it into action: he said that a good messenger confers the greatest honour on every affair.

Homer's acknowledged status as a fount of wisdom mirrors the role which Pindar himself hopes to fulfil in the present by persuading the king to accept Damophilus home from exile.³⁰

Pythian 3 depicts Hieron as a conscientious student of the literary tradition (80–2):

εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, Τέρων,
 ὀρθὰν ἐπίσται, μανθάνων οἶσθα προτέρων
 ἐν παρ' ἐκλὸν πῆματα κύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς
 ἀθάνατοι.

If you know how to understand the correct point of words, Hieron, learning from earlier men you know that the immortals apportion to humans two pains for every one good.

As many scholars suppose,³¹ these lines allude to *Il.* 24.527–8: *δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακέειται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει | δώρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν,*

²⁸ M. L. West (1974) 180, Ford (1997) 98, E. L. Bowie (2010) 78. Already Homeric heroes learn from past precedent and imagine others looking back and benefiting from them (*Il.* 9.524–6, 16.31–2).

²⁹ Σ P. 4.493 identifies the Homeric saying as *Il.* 15.207: *ἐκθλὸν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται ὅτ' ἄγγελος αἵσιμα εἰδῆι*. But the resemblance is not strong. This may instead be a reference to one of the many lost epics which many of Pindar's contemporaries considered to be the work of Homer (cf. J. S. Burgess (2001) 129).

³⁰ In Simon. 20.11–14 W the addressee, it seems, is invited to learn from Simonides and also from Homer.

³¹ Cannatà Fera (1986), Mann (1994) 318–20, Fearn (2007) 73 n. 142, Morgan (2015) 287. Luppino (1959), connecting *λόγων* (P. 3.80) with *προτέρων* (80), instead understands a reference to the previous verses (compare and contrast Currie (2005) 390–92, mooted a connection with the mysteries). This interpretation posits harsh word order. *μανθάνω* + genitive of personal source is a good poetic usage (e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 187, 408).

ἔτερος δὲ ἑάων, 'for two urns are placed on the floor of Zeus which contain the gifts that he gives, one of bad things, the other of good things.' Pindar, unlike most modern scholars, might have understood this to describe three jars. ὀρθάν (*P.* 3.80) implies the possibility of misunderstanding and flatters Hieron's critical acumen.³² The 'meta-traditional' προτέρων (80) invites reflection on previous poetry.³³ Broader context also militates in favour of allusion. Both Pindar and Achilles deploy exempla: Peleus and Priam for Achilles (*Il.* 24.534–45), Peleus and Cadmus for Pindar (86–99), who uses Achilles' fate (100–3) to illustrate the maxim uttered by the hero himself in the *Iliad*.

In *Isthmian* 6 Lampon applies a saying from Hesiod to his life and passes it along to his sons (66–8):

Λάμπων δὲ μελέταν
 ἔργοις ὀπάζων Ἡσιό-
 δου μάλα τιμᾷ τοῦτ' ἔπος,
 υἱοῖσί τε φράζων παραινέει...

By devoting industry to his deeds, Lampon very much honours this saying of Hesiod, which he tells and recommends to his sons...

Pindar cites Lampon citing Hesiod's *Works and Days* (412): μελέτη δέ τοι ἔργον ὀφέλλει, 'industry advances work.'³⁴ The basic idea is hardly unique (cf. e.g. Archil. 17), but it comes with an authoritative imprimatur that makes a difference to Lampon and to Pindar's poem. The following description of Lampon's character is in congruity with Hesiodic language and themes and suggests a more pervasive influence: Lampon does not just cite a Hesiodic slogan; he cultivates a Hesiodic ethic.³⁵ The central myth of *Isthmian* 6 draws on the Hesiodic *Great Ehoiai* (fr. 250). 'Hesiod' is a key theme in this ode.

³² It is quite possible that rhapsodes, those pioneers of Greek literary criticism, had been discussing the meaning of *Il.* 24.527–8 for some time now. Cf. Simon. 19.3–4 W, after quoting *Il.* 6.146: perhaps Simonides alludes to and corrects a perceived allusion to and interpretation of the same Homeric passage in Mimnermus 2 (Sider (1996) 273–5; cf. Solon 20, looking to Mimnermus 6). Simonides would be anticipating the later practice of window allusions.

³³ I use 'meta-traditional' to describe references to a tradition as a tradition (e.g. Ἀργὼ πᾶσι μέλουσα, *Od.* 12.70, best printed thus); cf. Tsagalis (2011) 221–2.

³⁴ Cf. D'Alessio (2005) 231.

³⁵ μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος (Hes. *Op.* 694) → μέτρα μὲν γνώμαι διώκων, μέτρα δὲ καὶ κατέχων (Pind. *I.* 6.71). The plural in this sense is unique in Pindar. Benevolence toward guest-friends (ξένων εὐεργεσίαις, *I.* 6.70) is a Hesiodic

As Hesiod advises his audiences, so Lampon advises his sons (φράζων παραινέ, 68).³⁶ Their shared athletic success shows that they heed their father's instruction. Lampon is 'a whetstone' among athletes (72–3; cf. O. 10.20) because he has sharpened his sons for victory, in part through his Hesiodic advice, which he passes along to others through *Isthmian* 6. Modern scholars have debated precisely how Hesiod is didactic, but Lampon, for one, clearly did not regard Hesiod's *Works and Days* as an instruction manual for farming any more than later Greeks regarded Pindar's Isthmian odes as a guide to winning at the Isthmian games (cf. Xen. *Mem.* 4.2.56–7). As the Aeginetan Lampon repurposed the Boeotian Hesiod's agricultural advice to apply to athletics, so Pindar's future audiences may reapply this traditional wisdom to their own diverse concerns. Wisdom, like the canonical poems in which it circulates, can be decontextualized and recontextualized time and again.

Bacchylides cites Hesiod by name and reputation (5.191–4):

Βοιωτὸς ἀνὴρ τᾷδε φών[ησεν, γλυκεῖαν
 Ἥσιόδος πρόπολος
 Μουσᾶν, ὃν ἄν' ἀθάνατοι τιμῶσι, τούτῳ
 καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἔπ[εσθαι.

A Boeotian man, Hesiod, servant of the sweet Muses, said this: 'Whomever the immortals honour, on him the good report of mortals attends as well.'

Bacchylides in a sense obeys (πείθομαι, 195) Hesiod and applies his general idea to the specific task of praising Hieron (195–7).³⁷ In discharging the encomiastic obligation of epinician, a relatively recent

theme (*Op.* 327). Lampon's prudent speech (γλῶσσα δ' οὐκ ἔξω φρενῶν, *I.* 6.72) is likewise in accord with Hesiodic precedent (*Op.* 709).

³⁶ φράζω (cf. Hes. *Op.* 367, 404, 688, [Hes.] fr. 283, Thgn. 100) and cognates of αἶνος (cf. Hes. *Op.* 202, Pind. *P.* 6.23) recall the relationship between didactic speaker and addressee.

³⁷ Cf. Maehler (1982–97) ii.123. On the question of the source see D. L. Cairns (2010) 246 and the works cited there. A reference to a lost poem is the best hypothesis. On the face of it, this looks more like a pithy maxim rather than a 'summary allusion' (Morgan (2015) 257; cf. Thgn. 169), which would be tough to parallel. ἔπ[εσθαι (B. 5.194) may stand for an imperative (cf. χρή), 187, πείθομαι, 195, Stenger (2004) 163). Alternatively, the idea of a norm might be implicit. Some idea of correct conduct is key to the rhetoric of Bacchylides' citation and not really present in *Th.* 81–97, which focuses on kings and the Muses, not just 'someone' and 'the immortal gods', and does not concern praise. It should be remembered that perhaps most of what Bacchylides and his contemporaries regarded as the work of Hesiod is lost to us.

genre, he presents himself as faithfully following one of the oldest poets in the Greek tradition.

Pindar's *Isthmian* 7 presents a contemporary as learning not from an individual older poet but from the past more generally. Previous poetry, however, is at issue. The victor's homonymous uncle Strepsiades 'approves' of three individuals by following their example (31–6):

τὸν δέ, Διοδότοιο παῖ, μαχατάν
αἰνέων Μελέαγρον, αἰνέων δέ καὶ Ἑκτορα
Ἀμφιράρον τε,
εὐανθέ' ἀπέπνευσε ἀλικίαν
προμάχων ἀν' ὄμιλον, ἔνθ' ἄριστοι
ἔσχον πολέμοιο νείκος ἐσχάταις ἐλπίσιν.

And you, son of Diodotus, approving of the warrior Meleager and approving of Hector and Amphiarus, breathed out your flourishing youth in the host of fighters at the front lines, where the bravest bore war's strife with their ultimate hopes.

Meleager, Hector, and Amphiarus, who derive from three different sagas, are cited as much for their diversity as for their similarity.³⁸ In choosing to risk his life in battle, Strepsiades was following a decidedly supra-local ethic. He affirms a moral code approved throughout the Greek world and throughout the ages; his nephew in turn reaffirms this code by stipulating that his uncle be celebrated in Pindar's poem (24).³⁹

The elder Strepsiades was presumably not thinking of heroic precedent at the moment of his violent death in battle, but his action manifests his conscious approval of a certain ethic. His death is admirable in part because he chose to risk his life rather than ensure his bodily survival.⁴⁰ The emphatic repetition *αἰνέων* . . . *αἰνέων* (32) connotes deliberate approval of known models.⁴¹ A passing reference

³⁸ The search for a factor beyond death in battle uniting the three heroes has, perhaps tellingly, not yet achieved consensus: cf. Bowra (1964) 350, Thummer (1968–9) ii.121–2, Young (1971) 22, Privitera (1982) 222, Currie (2005) 206–10.

³⁹ For the dedicatory motif cf. *O.* 4.11–12, 13.49, *N.* 4.79–81, 9.4–5, *P.* 9.103–5, *B.* 10.9–10. In all these passages someone sets an unselfish agenda for the song.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Dem.* 60.2, *Lys.* 2.79, *Arist. Rhet.* 1359a.1–5, Loraux (1986) 101–5, Balot (2014) 93–4.

⁴¹ Many take the participle to mean 'emulating', but that sense is not attested clearly elsewhere (so, rightly, Brown (2016) 290; contrast Nicholson (2001) 46–7). At *N.* 4.93 the verb means, as usual, 'praise' (cf. *φάσθαι*, 92). *τὸν Φιλοκτῆταο δίκαν ἐφέπων*

to Meleager, Hector, and Amphiarauus does not clearly point to definite earlier poems,⁴² but Strepsiades must have known these ancient men in no small part through poetry, the aspect of mythological discourse which is most relevant to Pindar's concerns. Indeed, according to *Isthmian* 7, poetry is the *sole* medium through which the past lives on in the memory of the living: ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί, | ὅ τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον | κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν ἐξίκεται ζυγόν, 'mortals are forgetful of whatever does not reach the supreme pinnacle of wisdom, yoked to glorious streams of verse' (17–19). The elder Strepsiades was not 'forgetful' of ancient heroic precedent, which he knew (at least in part) through poetry.

Broader rhetorical context also shows that Strepsiades consciously followed precedent. His particular case follows as an instantiation of generalizations (26–30):

τιμὰ δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἀντίκειται.
 ἔστω γὰρ σαρὲς ὅστις ἐν ταύται νεφέλαι χάλα-
 ζαν αἵματος πρὸ φίλας πάτρας ἀμύνεται,
 λοιγὸν ἄντα φέρων ἐναντίω στρατῶι,
 ἀστῶν γενεᾷ μέγιστον κλέος αὔξων
 ζῶων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανόν.

Honour is stored up as a recompense for good men. For let him know with confidence, whoever in that cloud defends his own dear fatherland from the hailstorm of blood by turning havoc against the opposing army, that he bolsters great glory for the race of his fellow citizens, both while he is alive and after he has died.

Strepsiades, for one, did know that by defending his homeland he was cultivating fame because he knew the lasting fame of ancient warriors who did just that. The glory of Hector, familiar to Pindar's audience and to Strepsiades, exemplifies this generalization about the honour accorded to those who die in battle defending their homeland.⁴³

(P. 1.50) might similarly imply that Hieron consciously follows heroic precedent (cf. P. 9.111–14, Hdt. 9.34).

⁴² Cf. Todorov (1981) 24–5 on intertextuality that evokes not specific texts but 'an anonymous ensemble'. Foley's (1991) 6–8 concept of 'traditional referentiality' may also, *mutatis mutandis*, be helpful here.

⁴³ ἀντίκειται (I. 7.26), suggesting materiality, stresses permanence (Barrett (2007) 56). This achievable form of immortality through an admirable death and commemoration in poetry contrasts with Bellerophon's vain attempt to enter Olympus (43–7; cf. O. 1.59–64, 82–5, P. 3.61–76, N. 8.44–50).

Strepsiadēs learnt from the heroic glories of the past and in turn may himself become an object lesson for the future through Pindar's enduring poem (κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν, 19; cf. κλέος, 29). Strepsiadēs, 'like Hektor, Meleager, and Amphiaraios that served as exempla for his own deed, may prove exemplary' (Young (1971) 46; cf. Currie (2005) 218–22). The Theban Strepsiadēs approved of Amphiaraios, an ancient hero who perished attacking Thebes; others may view Strepsiadēs with similar detachment as this ode circulates throughout the Greek world and endures through time.

Pythian 6 is perhaps Pindar's single most extensive meditation on the didactic function of poetry. The victor's son takes centre stage as a pupil of previous literature. His relationship to the past mirrors the poet's relation to the past. As Thrasybulus comes after and emulates his older relatives and ancient heroes, so Pindar comes after and emulates the canonical poems to which he refers.⁴⁴ This *Pythian* treasury of song finds a place within a literary landscape already populated with other monuments (*P.* 6.5–18). As with Horace's famous allusion to *Pythian* 6 in *Odes* 3.30, so already in Pindar engagement with previous literature evokes validating precedent for his ambition to create an enduring work of his own.

Thrasybulus shapes his character through the study of poetry (47–9):

νόωι δὲ πλοῦτον ἄγει,
ἄδικον οὐθ' ὑπέροπλον ἦβαν δρέπων,
σοφίαν δ' ἐν μυχοῖσι Πιερίδων.

He guides his wealth with intelligence, enjoys a youth that is neither unjust nor insolent, and culls wisdom in the glens of the Pierians.

Implying both usufruct and pleasure, δρέπων (48) here refers to experiencing poetry as an audience, not being its subject or its creator. Because he has culled wisdom from verse, the young Thrasybulus does not indulge in the vices characteristic of youth (47).⁴⁵ The

⁴⁴ Hinds (1998) 115: 'for poets who handle mythological themes, occasion for negotiation between the time-frames of the narrated world and the time-frames of their own poetic tradition will tend to arise again and again.'

⁴⁵ Cf. *Il.* 3.108–10, Solon 27.11–14, Thgn. 629–30, Arist. *Rh.* 1389a–b, Dover (1974) 102–3. Youth's education in poetry: Thgn. 27–8, Eur. fr. 1028 *TrGF*, Ar. *Nub.* 964–72, Pl. *Prt.* 325e–326a, Xen. *Mem.* 4.2.1, Aeschin. 3.135, Herington (1985) 203–5, Harris (1989) 57, Robb (1994) 184–92, T. Morgan (1998) 9–15.

qualities here praised—liberality, justice, erudition—are epinician commonplaces, but the causative relationship implied between them is unique and significant.⁴⁶

The rest of *Pythian* 6 offers an indication of the sort of wisdom that Thrasybulus culls. ἐν μυχοῖσι Πιερίδων (49) evokes the separate, detached word of poetry and implies extensive study.⁴⁷ The Muses are described as ‘Pierians’, a local association which features prominently in Hesiod (*Op.* 1, *Theog.* 53) but never in Homer. Together with the noun μυχός, which here and elsewhere means ‘glen, hollow’,⁴⁸ it recalls Hesiod’s poetic investiture, when he met the Muses in a valley ‘beneath holy Helicon’ (Ἑλικῶνος ὕπο ζαθέοιο, *Theog.* 23). A Hesiodic description of Thrasybulus’ literary experience links up with a reference to the Hesiodic *Precepts of Chiron* earlier in the poem. The narrative section of *Pythian* 6 draws on this canonical poem from which Thrasybulus has culled wisdom (19–27):

κύ τοι χεθών νιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ χειρός, ὀρθάν
 ἄγεις ἐφημοσύναν,
 τά ποτ’ ἐν οὔρεσι φαντὶ μεγαλοθενεῖ
 Φιλύρας υἱὸν ὀρφανιζομένωι
 Πηλεΐδαι παραινεῖν· μάλιστα μὲν Κρονίδαν,
 βαρυόπαν στεροπᾶν κεραυνῶν τε πρύτανιν,
 θεῶν κέβεσθαι·
 ταύτας δὲ μὴ ποτε τιμᾶς
 ἀμείρειν γονέων βίον πεπρωμένον.

Truly, by keeping it at your right, you conduct correctly the instruction which they say Philyra’s son [sc. Chiron] once advised to the mighty son of Peleus [sc. Achilles] in the mountains, when he was away from his parents: most of all gods to honour Cronus’ son, loud-voiced lord of lightning and thunder, and never to deprive of that sort of honour one’s parents during their destined life.

⁴⁶ Kurke (1990) 99: ‘by setting the enjoyment of poetic σοφία in direct contrast to an arrogant and overweening youth, Pindar implies a causal connection which gives to poetry a paideutic function.’ Vetta (1979) posits an erotic interpretation, but these lines seem more broadly ethical. Pindar’s other poem addressed to Thrasybulus also highlights his literary expertise (*I.* 2.12).

⁴⁷ Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 452, *Alc.* 962–4, Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 69.

⁴⁸ Cf. O. 3.27 with Verdenius (1987–8) i.28. ἐν μυχοῖσι Πιερίδων (*P.* 6.49) connects with the setting of Chiron’s advice (ἐν οὔρεσι, 21) and the imaginative setting of Pindar’s ode (Ἀπολλωνία...νάπαι, 9).

The *dicitur* motif draws attention to the background of a story, whatever that may be. This instance directs attention to the *Sayings of Chiron*, a lost piece of wisdom literature popular in Pindar's day.⁴⁹ φαντί (21), introducing an extended accusative and infinitive construction that is rare in Pindar's epinicians, here points not to a nebulous tradition but rather to a well-known composition.⁵⁰ Thrasybulus shows that he has understood the advice which the centaur Chiron gave to the young Achilles in that work. In ὀρθάν | ἄγειε ἐφημοσύναν (19–20), the metaphor drawn from chariot racing connotes intentional navigation by a known point of reference.⁵¹ ὀρθάν (19) evokes ethical rectitude but also literary interpretation (cf. *P.* 3.80, LSJ⁹ s.v. III.2). Thrasybulus does not simply happen to exemplify a generalization; he consciously abides by a precept from a canonical poem. This is what it looks like to 'cull wisdom in the valley of the Muses' (49).

Pythian 6 first describes the boy Achilles learning a lesson in Greece and then the young man Antilochus (ὁ θεῖος ἀνὴρ, 38) later in time exemplifying that lesson in action at Troy. This progression reflects the young Thrasybulus' education through literature and his subsequent maturation toward adult achievement (46–51). The second half of the mythological diptych in *Pythian* 6 also draws on a literary precedent (37–45):

αὐτοῦ
 μένων δ' ὁ θεῖος ἀνὴρ
 πρίατο μὲν θανάτοιο κομιδὰν πατρός,
 ἐδόκησέν τε τῶν πάλαι γενεᾷ
 ὀπλοτέροισιν ἔργον πελώριον τέλειαις
 ὕπατος ἀμφὶ τοκεῦσιν ἔμμεν πρὸς ἀρετάν.

⁴⁹ See [Hes.] fr. 283–5, Kurke (1990), D'Alessio (2005) 232. Cf. Φαμί διδασκαλίαν Χίρωνος οἷειν (*P.* 4.102), probably also looking to the *Sayings of Chiron* (cf. Braswell (1988) 192–3). We are justified in supposing that Pindar and Bacchylides refer to the *Precepts of Chiron* (and also the *Catalogue of Women*) as the work of Hesiod (so Cingano (2009) 99–100).

⁵⁰ τις λόγος (Simon. 579) looks to Hes. *Op.* 289–92. λέγοντι (Pind. *O.* 9.49) looks to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. On such sign-posting see Scodel (2001) 124, H. S. Mackie (2003) 67–8, Pavlou (2012b) 107–8. The 'Hellenistic footnote' (Ross (1975) 78) functions similarly.

⁵¹ Carey (1975) identifies the metaphor in *P.* 6.19–20 and persuasively argues that νιν (19) looks to ἐφημοσύναν (20); contrast Sandgren (1966), Wüst (1967) 42–4. πρὸς στάθμαν ἔβα (45) likewise connotes travel by a known point of reference (cf. Gerber (1999) 48–50).

τὰ μὲν παρίκει·
 τῶν νῦν δὲ καὶ Θρασύβουλος
 πατρώαν μάλιστα πρὸς στάθμαν ἔβα...

That godlike man (*sc.* Antilochus) stood his ground and purchased his father's rescue at the price of his own death, and, for accomplishing that awesome deed, he was judged by the young among that ancient generation to be supreme in excellence toward parents. Those things have passed; of those alive now, Thrasybulus has come closest to the standard of filial devotion...

As many scholars suppose, Pindar's account of the death of Antilochus very probably reflects and draws on the cyclic *Aethiopis*.⁵² Thrasybulus' extensive literary experience may well be thought to have included this work, which Pindar elsewhere refers to as broadly-shared cultural property and as the work of Homer (IV.4).

Antilochus was once a paragon in mythical time; Thrasybulus sets the standard for his cohort (40–5). Pindar puts heroic precedent in the past and celebrates a parallel contemporary theme (43–4; cf. Ibyc. S151.46–8), yet at the same time intertextuality with the *Aethiopis* attests to the durability of Antilochus' example and the lesson that it teaches. As Chiron's advice and Antilochus' actions guided Thrasybulus, so Thrasybulus himself can serve as a measuring stick and source of inspiration as long as Pindar's immortal treasury of song lasts.

Pythian 6 aligns Hesiodic wisdom literature and Homeric narrative epic by making both serve to illustrate the same lesson (ἐφημοσύναν, 20; νόημα τοῦτο, 29). It also aligns epinician with these other genres by perpetuating that same lesson once again. Thrasybulus does not compete with Antilochus any more than Pindar's epinician competes with Hesiodic wisdom literature or cyclic epic; rather, both the poet and his addressee self-consciously continue a tradition and, by bringing the lessons of the past to bear on the present, may hope to influence the future. By aligning himself with two canonical texts,

⁵² So e.g. Gildersleeve (1885) 318, Rengakos (2015) 307, Spelman (2018b). Kelly (2006), while not directly arguing against the influence of the *Aethiopis*, asserts that Iliadic influence vitiates the value of our passage as a source of evidence for reconstructing the cyclic epic (*contra* Heitsch (2008), Davies (2016) 64–5, Currie (2016) 247–53). Nestor, Antilochus, and chariots (*P.* 6.32; cf. 16) may bring to mind *Iliad* 23 as a secondary intertext (Carey (1975) 290, Nagy (1990) 207, Kelly (2006) 16). There too learning and instruction are at issue.

Pindar makes a claim to speak with a voice of authority to his generation and to those among future audiences who, like Thrasybulus, will engage with older literature as a source of instruction. By showing how the literary tradition shaped a contemporary's character, Pindar demonstrates how his poem may in turn shape others' characters as his work is remembered within that same tradition. Probably already in his day, as his depiction of the young Thrasybulus' literary experience suggests, some texts were canonized in part because of their perceived value in forming character.⁵³ This ode makes an implicit claim to have such value and to belong to that canon.

4. EPIC ANALOGUES: *PYTHIAN* 3

As *Pythian* 6 exemplifies, intertextuality constitutes one of Pindar's primary means of meditating on the contours of literary history and on the capacities of his own work. As we saw in the case of *Pythian* 1, allusions to earlier poetry can buttress a claim to create another lasting work. This section discusses Pindaric references to Trojan epics commonly ascribed to Homer and then examines the end of *Pythian* 3 to demonstrate how Pindar uses the actual reception of epic to frame the potential reception of his own work. The poet's presentation of his own authorial project is grounded in a certain understanding of the literary past.

In the last third of the sixth century 'Homer springs to life' (M. L. West (2011–13) i.429). Pindar was interested not just in Homeric epic but in the personality behind the texts.⁵⁴ He allegedly discussed Homer's geographical origins and claimed that the impoverished Homer gave the *Cypria* away as a dowry (fr. 264, 265).⁵⁵

⁵³ Cf. Ar. *Nub.* 961–72, of the Marathon generation, Pl. *Prt.* 325e–327b, and Douris' famous 'school cup', dated 490–85 (on which see Sider (2010)). See also note 45 above. Eup. 398 *PCG* apparently implies that the poems of Pindar were taught in fifth-century schools (Olson (2014) 163–4; cf. [Plut.] *de mus.* 1142b, Stat. *Silv.* 5.191–2).

⁵⁴ Important discussions of Pindar and Homer include Köhnken (1985), Pelliccia (1987), Nisetich (1989), Nagy (1990), Mann (1994), Sotiriou (1998), M. L. West (2011).

⁵⁵ Pindar elsewhere displays interest in the origins (fr. 125, 140b.4–6) and in the economic circumstances of earlier poets (*P.* 2.52–6, *I.* 2.1–11). The Homeric

Neither report is implausible; either or both might conceivably derive from errant ancient interpretation. At any rate, Pindar clearly understood Homer to have been a singular paragon of authorial excellence: his work has endured through time and spread throughout the Greek world (*I.* 4.37–9).

But what does Pindar refer to when he refers to ‘Homer’? Detailed allusions to two surviving poems evidently presume the existence of texts not radically different from those still read today.⁵⁶ Both subtle intertexts and a remarkable lack of substantial overlap show the extent and nature of Homer’s influence on Pindar’s myths. *Olympian* 13, for example, looks to Glaucus’ speech in *Iliad* 6, a minor episode unlikely to have been an inherited part of the epic tradition.⁵⁷ Pindar alludes to Iliadic character speech as *character speech* (ἐξέυχεται, *O.* 13.61→ἐῴχομαι, *Il.* 6.211).⁵⁸ He, like Homer’s Glaucus, tells the story of Bellerophon but scrupulously avoids overlap and narrates the taming of the winged Pegasus, a fantastical tale characteristically suppressed in the *Iliad*. The Iliadic Bellerophon succeeds θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας, ‘having obeyed the portents of the gods’ (6.183); in Pindar the goddess Athena gives Bellerophon the τέρας, ‘wonder’ (*O.* 13.73), of the bridle that enables his success. Pindar and Glaucus both suppress the ugly fate of Bellerophon (*Il.* 6.200–2; *O.* 13.91).

Perhaps even more striking than any fine-grained allusion is the absence of the extensive treatment of any episode from the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Pindar sometimes navigates around these two poems, alluding to them while avoiding substantial overlap, as in *Olympian* 13. One might term this sort of avoidance ‘negative intertextuality’.⁵⁹

biographical tradition started very early (Momigliano (1971) 25–7, Richardson (1981) 1). The Homeridae, whom Pindar mentions (*N.* 2.1), told stories about their ostensible namesake (*Pl. Resp.* 599e, *Isoc.* 10.65).

⁵⁶ Herington (1985) 45, Pöhlmann (1990) 18, Burkert (2001) 105, Cassio (2002) 118–19, West (2011). Janko (1998), Pelliccia (2003), Reece (2005), and Jensen (2011) ch. 7 persuasively criticize the leading rival hypothesis from different perspectives.

⁵⁷ Compare and contrast Farnell (1930–2) ii.95, Hubbard (1986) 35.

⁵⁸ Cf. ἄκουσεν (*N.* 2.14), which looks to Ajax’s speech in Homer: καὶ μὰν ἅ Καλαμίς γε θρέψαι φῶτα μαχατάν | δυνατός (*N.* 2.13–14)→ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἐμὲ νήϊδά γ’ οὕτως | ἔλλομαι ἐν Καλαμῖνι γενέσθαι τε τραφόμεν τε (*Il.* 7.198–9; cf. *Pind. fr.* 198a). Sotiriou (2000) proposes that ἄκουσεν (14) means ‘submitted to’. But this sense of the simplex verb generally goes with orders.

⁵⁹ The *Odyssey* with does not narrate events covered in the *Iliad*; this probably reflects a conscious strategy rather than ignorance (cf. Currie (2006) 7–15). The cyclic epics famously crop around the Homeric poems. Stesichorus’ narratives seem to have avoided Achilles and Odysseus (Carey (2015) 57).

Probably it reflects Pindar's desire to produce a unique, authoritative account of a mythological episode.⁶⁰ The same strategy of avoidance generally holds true for Bacchylides, but *Ode* 13 is a telling exception to the rule: it recounts material from the *Iliad* and extensively discusses superlative fame in such a way as to recall Homeric precedent (168–81 with Fearn (2007) 120–2).

Several Pindaric references to episodes treated in lost poems of the Trojan cycle also probably look to notionally fixed epics attributed to Homer. I have argued this position more extensively elsewhere and will not repeat those arguments in detail here.⁶¹ A few highly specific allusions to episodes covered in the cyclic poems buttress the hypothesis that Pindar knew this material in the same way as he knew of Odysseus' suffering (πάθαν, *N.* 7.21) through Homer's *Odyssey* (Ὀμηρον, 21).⁶² We have already discussed Ajax's suicide in *Isthmian* 4 and in the *Aethiopis* (II). *Nemean* 10 tells the tale of the battle between the Dioscouri and the Apharetidae, an episode also narrated in the *Cypria*. Pindar's ode agrees with the *Cypria* in numerous broad points of plot, but one of the longest preserved fragments of any cyclic epic, adduced by ancient scholars and transmitted in the Pindaric scholia (Σ 114a), allows us a rare opportunity to appreciate the depth of his engagement with his model. In both *Nemean* 10 and the *Cypria*, Lynceus gazes from Mount Taygetus and spies both Dioscouri inside a hollow oak.⁶³ This detail is most plausibly explained as a pointed allusion. I find it difficult to believe that such minutiae belonged to a nebulous, fluid tradition rather than to fixed poetic accounts known to at least some among Pindar's audiences.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Stoneman (1981) 62–3, Mann (1994) 333–5, Rutherford (2015) 452.

⁶¹ Spelman (2018b), which shares some wording with this section. I thank Cambridge University Press for permission to reprint that overlapping material.

⁶² Mann (1994) 327, Loscalzo (2000) 133, and others attractively see a reference to the proem of the *Odyssey*: πολλά δ' ὅ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν (1.4). On the importance of *incipits* for later allusions see now Currie (2016) 218.

⁶³ Τηϋγέτον... ἕω κοίλης δρυὸς ἄμφω (*Cypria* fr. 16 GEF); ἀπὸ Ταϋγέτου... δρυὸς ἐν στελέχει | ἡμένους (Pind. *N.* 10.61–2). See Henry (2005) 112–13 for arguments in favour of the clearly correct reading ἡμένους (*N.* 10.62). Cf. M. L. West (2013) 44: 'it is in Pindar that we find the most striking response to the Cycle.'

⁶⁴ Staehlin (1903) 183: 'es ist kein Zweifel, daß Pindar von der Erzählung der Kyprien ausgeht;' Severyns (1932) 262; Wilamowitz (1922) 428: 'hier kennen wir seine Vorlage, die Kyprien;' Sbardella (2003) 137 mentions 'il forte grado di dipendenza del testo pindarico dal modello epico'. Contrast Rutherford (2015) 459.

Canonicity is the single most salient and essential feature of Pindar's Homer. Every passage that names Homer also highlights his extensive reception. In *Paean* 7b ἀμαξιτόν, 'highway' (11), indicates the popularity of Homer's work: his poetry is a public road that has already been travelled time and again. In *Nemean* 7 Homer's art dupes ὄμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλείστος, 'the most numerous mass of men' (24). In ποτανᾶι...μαχανᾶι, 'soaring craft' (22), the adjective reflects the broad reach of Homer's work which flies throughout the Greek world⁶⁵ and the noun connotes the skill required for such dissemination. In *Isthmian* 4 the radiance of Homer's poetry has travelled and still travels undimmed through space and time (37–42). *Pythian* 4 cites Homer's words as something already known to the addressee (277–8).

Even when Homer is not named, episodes from the Trojan saga are repeatedly presented as well known. Abundant and prominent meta-traditional references surrounding this material are all the more striking when one considers the relative dearth of comparable framing around Pindar's various other mythical themes.⁶⁶ The high number of odes for Aeginetan patrons, who claimed a genealogical connection to important heroes who fought at Troy, would help to explain a disparity in frequency but not differences in scope and intensity. Pindar never says that the fame of any other mythological figure hinges on one poet as he claims that Odysseus' fame hinges on Homer alone (*N.* 7.20–1; cf. *Simon.* 11.15–18 W). I take the passages discussed in the following paragraphs to allude at least in part to epic poetry, which played a prominent role in the afterlife of the Trojan War in Pindar's day. As his references to his patrons' future fame can include his own song but also other channels of memorialization, so references to the afterlife of the Trojan War may include epic but may also include other channels of memorialization from the visual arts to everyday speech.⁶⁷ As Pindar himself repeatedly stresses, poetry played an important role in forming his audiences' vision of the past.⁶⁸ It

⁶⁵ Cf. *P.* 8.34, Most (1985a) 150–1.

⁶⁶ There is a notable lack of overt references to Theban epic in the Theban Pindar, but see *O.* 6.12–18 with Hutchinson (2001) 381–2 and Davies (2015) 91–5. Significant metatraditional framing of non-Trojan material: *P.* 2.15–16 (Cinyras), 9.87–8 (Heracles and Iphicles), 11.59–64 (Iphicles and the Dioscouri), *N.* 1.34 (Heracles), *I.* 1.22–3 (Castor and Iolaus), 5.26–33 (various heroes).

⁶⁷ On non-literary modes of mythological discourse see Finkelberg (2014).

⁶⁸ *P.* 1.92–4, 3.112–15, *I.* 7.17–19, fr. 121.

would be wrong simply to equate myth with poetry, but it is reasonable to suppose that the poet Pindar is often chiefly concerned with older poetry. The diction of several passages supports this inference.

Nemean 9 cites Hector as an example of fame: λέγεται μὲν Ἑκτορι μὲν κλέος ἀνθῆσαι, 'it is said that Hector's glory blossomed' (39). Here λέγεται (39) alludes to a tradition as a shared contemporary reality, and there can be but little doubt that the *Iliad* played an important role in perpetuating Hector's reputation in the fifth century. In *Nemean* 6 the Aeacidae's ancient name still travels far beyond Aegina: πέταται δ' ἐπὶ τε χθόνα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης τηλόθεν | ὄνυμ' αὐτῶν, 'their name flies far away over the land and across the sea' (48–9). There follows an account of Achilles' duel with Memnon (49–53), an episode treated in the *Aethiopis* (arg. 2 *GEF*). Pindar advertises that he is reiterating a theme that has been treated before: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν παλαιότεροι | ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτὸν εἶρον, 'men of old discovered in these deeds a highway [of song]' (53–4). Whatever else these lines bring to mind, they probably call attention to a debt to cyclic precedent (VII.6). In *Nemean* 3 the same episode is linked to broad and lasting glory: τηλαυγὲς ἄραρε φέγγος Αἰακιδᾶν αὐτόθεν, 'from there the far-shining light of the Aeacidae is fixed' (64). Referring to the place of Achilles' duel with Memnon,⁶⁹ αὐτόθεν (64) connotes a distant location and time, thereby highlighting the duration and spread of the Aeacidae's renown from the Trojan War to the present and from Troy to Aegina. In *Isthmian* 8 poets have made Achilles' valour well known: καὶ νεαρὰν ἔδειξαν σοφῶν | στόματ' ἀπείροις ἀρετὰν Ἀχιλῆος, 'and the mouths of wise [poets] have revealed Achilles' youthful excellence to those ignorant of it' (47–8). Saying that poets⁷⁰ informed the ignorant implies through litotes that no one is now ignorant, i.e. that everyone knows.⁷¹ Achilles' 'youthful excellence' in battle is described in the following verses (49–60).⁷² There is, as far as

⁶⁹ Pfeijffer (1999a) 369 refers αὐτόθεν (64) to Aegina. But the island is not mentioned here. Like the victor's fame (84), Achilles' fame shines from the site of his triumph (cf. *O.* 1.23–4, *N.* 9.39–44).

⁷⁰ Farnell (1930–2) ii.383 and Thummer (1968–9) ii.137 understand prophets. In Pindar this substantive adjective often denotes poets, never prophets. Carey (1981) 200 sees these poets as contemporary with Achilles (cf. Maslov (2015) 270).

⁷¹ Cf. *P.* 9.87–8 with Young (1979), *I.* 6.24–7, *B.* 9.53–5, *Soph. Ant.* 33–4. For the verb cf. *Hymn. Hom.* 31.18.

⁷² A reference to Achilles' exploits under Chiron's tutelage would be opaque (contrast Privitera (1982) 236). Warriors are generally young (cf. *I.* 7.34). Youthful valour is an important theme in *Isthmian* 8.

we can tell, no substantial disagreement with the epic cycle in these lines. *Isthiman* 5 recounts Aeginetan achievements at Troy (39–42):

λέγε, τίνες Κύνκνον, τίνες Ἑκτορα πέφνον,
καὶ στράταρχον Αἰθιοπῶν ἄφοβον
Μέμνονα χαλκοάραν· τίς ἄρ' ἐελὼν Τήλεφον
τρώσεν ἐὼι δορὶ Καΐκου παρ' ὄχθαις;

Tell me which men slew Cynus, which slew Hector, and the fearless general of the Ethiopians, Memnon of the bronze armour? Who wounded noble Telephus with his own spear by the Caicus' banks?

An epicizing request to the Muse for precise information about the distant past introduces a passage which draws on its audiences' knowledge of earlier epic. The poet need not even name Achilles. Indeed, the suppression of his name thematizes shared knowledge of a well-known topic. Everyone already knows who killed Hector (in the *Iliad*), Cynus (in the *Cypria*), and Memnon (in the *Aethiopis*), and who wounded Telephus (in the *Cypria*)—but who also later cured him 'with his own spear' (ἐὼι δορὶ, 42; cf. *Cypria* arg. 7 GEF). Emphasis on this weapon is best explained as an allusion to its later importance in the cycle.

Pythian 3 provides a particularly striking example of how the precedent of Homeric epic shapes Pindaric self-presentation. Trojan themes, emphasis on literary excellence, and reference to an enduring poetic afterlife suggest that Pindar is here, as in the passages discussed above, concerned at least in large part with one particular author and his reception, not merely a nebulous mythological tradition (112–15):

Νέστορα καὶ Λύκιον Σαρπηδόν', ἀνθρώπων φάτις,
ἐξ ἐπέων κελαδενῶν, τέκτονες οἶα σοφοί
ἄρμους, γινώσκουμεν· ἃ δ' ἀρετὰ κλειναῖς ἀοιδαῖς
χρονία τέλει· παύροις δὲ πράξασθ' εὐμαρές.

We recognize Nestor and Lycian Sarpedon, the talk of mankind, from such resounding verses as wise craftsmen constructed. Excellence becomes enduring through glorious songs. But for few is it easy to achieve.

Nestor and Sarpedon died long ago but still have enduring glory through poetry. The inclusive first-person plural γινώσκουμεν (114) here embraces the Greek world most generally.⁷³ An audience's

⁷³ Cf. ἴσαμεν (Pind. *N.* 7.14), Theoc. 16.49, an allusion to our passage, Neumann-Hartmann (2005) 154.

knowledge of these figures confirms the argument advanced in these lines. 'Pindar offers Hieron an accessible, proven product' (Young (1968) 62).

For fifth-century Greeks who did in fact know Nestor and Sarpedon from resounding verses, this passage would probably have brought to mind the most famous author behind poems featuring Nestor and Sarpedon: Homer. Early Greek literature does not explicitly link any other author with the Trojan War.⁷⁴ In the 'Plataea Elegy' Simonides makes Homer *solely* responsible for the fame of the heroes who fought at Troy (11.15–18 W; cf. Theoc. 16.44–6, Prop. 3.1.25–34). In Pindar's *Nemean* 7 it is because of Homer and Homer alone that Odysseus has acquired his undue reputation (διὰ τὸν ἄδυεπῇ γενέσθ' Ὀμηρον, 21). *Pythian* 3 earlier makes fairly explicit and detailed reference to the *Iliad* (80–2). In our passage, as there, generalizing plurals are compatible with a reference (at least primarily) to a particular antecedent.⁷⁵ τέκτονες... σοφοί (113) describe poets talented enough to create lasting verbal structures, not just any versifier. ἄρμους (114) is a straightforward historical aorist referring to poems composed once and for all.⁷⁶

Modern scholars, while recognizing Homer's influence on *Pythian* 3 as a whole, are generally reticent about linking these last lines with Homer in particular; for Pindar's contemporaries these lines would probably have evoked not just a mythological tradition but the most distinguished authorial figure linked to that mythological tradition and the single most canonical poet of the past.

The final sentence of the poem, 'but for few is it easy to achieve' (παύροις δὲ πράξαθ' εὐμαρές, 115), has relevance for both Hieron and Pindar.⁷⁷ It is difficult to accomplish something memorable, but it is

⁷⁴ Cf. e.g. Pind. fr. dub. 347: Φρυγίας κομήτορα μάχας (sc. Homer). But the play on Homeric language does not strike me as clearly Pindaric (cf. κομήτορε λαῶν, *Il.* 1.16; ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων κομήτορα, θείων Ὀμηρον, *Certamen* 18 West).

⁷⁵ Cf. λέγοντι (*O.* 9.49), προτέρων (*P.* 3.80), σοφοί (112), φαντί (6.21), παλαιότεροι (*N.* 6.53), σοφῶν (*I.* 8.47).

⁷⁶ For the aorist cf. Simon. 564.4, 11.18 W (with West's supplement), Pind. *P.* 4.278, *I.* 4.38, *B.* 5.191, Pelliccia (2003) 107–8.

⁷⁷ Cf. Wilamowitz (1922) 284 ('ein Dichter wie Pindar ist auch selten'), R. W. B. Burton (1962) 89, Young (1968) 63 n. 3, Hubbard (1985) 26, Poiss (1993) 241. Without great confidence I prefer to take the infinitive πράξαθ' (*P.* 3.115) absolutely: 'to succeed' (cf. τὸ... τυχεῖν, *O.* 2.51, *N.* 1.26, LSJ⁹ s.v. πράσσω III.2). The middle poses an issue for this reading. Some instead understand an implied object

also difficult to make achievement remembered for a long time through an excellent poem. *παύροις* (115) looks to a common aim achieved by a select minority (cf. Ar. *Eq.* 517). Homer's exceptional skill has enabled his work to endure; the majority of poets fall short of this high bar. Though generalization provides a veil of modesty, the implication is obvious enough: Pindar, like Homer, is such a rare talent; Hieron, like a Homeric hero, will be remembered in poetry.

Though Pindar cannot provide a divine healer (63–76), he can provide literary immortality through his exceptional authorial skill. *Pythian* 3 opens with an impossible and commonplace wish for a vanished era when a centaur born from Cronus walked on the slopes of Mount Pelion; it ends with a more realistic wish to match the more recent precedent of Homeric epic.⁷⁸ Anybody can vainly utter a trite wish for Hieron's bodily survival; it takes a rarer sort to secure his afterlife in the literary tradition.

Scholars disagree about the relevance of Nestor and Sarpedon.⁷⁹ As with the troika of heroes in *Isthmian* 7 (32–3), their dissimilarity is itself significant. Young and old, 'one shining lamp... out of each camp' (Gildersleeve (1885) 277), they constitute an inclusive doublet. The two heroes' contrasting fates are probably relevant to *Pythian* 3, a poem much concerned with death. Sarpedon's demise at the hands of Patroclus is the most memorable episode with which he is associated in Trojan epic (*Il.* 16.477–501). Nestor, by contrast, represents aged

'songs' (e.g. Race (1997) i.257). But I am not sure that *ἀοιδὰς πράξασθαι*, hardly a common locution, would readily be understood to mean 'win songs' (compare and contrast *γλυκὺν ὕμνον πράσσετε*, *N.* 9.3; *κλέος ἔπραξεν*, *I.* 5.8). In any event, one would understand 'glorious songs', and the ambiguity would remain. Others understand *τὸ καὶ πλουτεῖν καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθαι* (*Σ* 202b, Schroeder (1922) 31). But one more naturally connects the infinitive with the closer, less specific *ἀρετά* (114) and the general content of the last sentence, which includes poetic permanence.

⁷⁸ The sense of *κοινόν* (*P.* 3.2) is disputed. I translate 'commonplace'. The adjective contrasts with *ἀμετέρας* (2). *εἰ χρεών* (2) expresses hesitation or reluctance (cf. Solon 37.1, *Soph. El.* 273, *Eur. Med.* 61, *El.* 300). See further Gentili et al. (1995) 407, Morgan (2015) 275.

⁷⁹ Sider (1991) sees a pair of characters who proclaim '*non omnis moriar*' in the *Iliad*. But neither does so. Being regarded as 'like a god' by one's contemporaries does not implicate a poetic afterlife (e.g. *Il.* 5.78). Miller (1994) argues that both symbolize longevity and adduces later evidence for a tradition that Zeus granted Sarpedon extended life. There is no explicit trace of this story in Pindar, Homer, or, as far as we can tell, the cycle. Morgan (2015) 296 argues that Nestor and Sarpedon are selected because 'they introduce counterfactual possibilities into Homeric narrative'. But so do others.

wisdom and longevity at Troy (*Il.* 1.250–2) and returned home safe. One of his most conspicuous appearances in the saga was when he was rescued from death by his son Antilochus (*Aethiopis* arg. 2 *GEF*; cf. *Pind. P.* 6.30–42). Together these contrasting figures make a consolatory point at the end of *Pythian* 3: poetic immortality dwarfs any mortal lifespan, whether long or short. One might imagine that this was not lost on the ailing Hieron.

Pindar's relationship to Homer has been extensively documented in many individual cases but perhaps insufficiently theorized on a more general level. His intertextual engagement with Homeric epic is not reducible to a list of verbal and thematic connections; these *tesserae* add up to a programmatic picture that affects the meaning of Pindar's poetry as a whole. He evokes Homeric epics as canonical works and privileged monuments in literary history. Pindar's frequently expressed awareness of his own privileged place in a poetic culture and in literary history⁸⁰ should dissuade us from viewing his presentation of himself as a contemporary heir to an older epic tradition and as a sort of *alter Homerus* as merely a conventional poetic flight of fancy without any basis in reality. Affording no comparable attention to more recent poems and more recent poets, Pindar tends to set his own work alongside canonical epics and set himself alongside the most distinguished figure of the literary past. He constructs a foreshortened, depopulated large-scale literary history in which he plays a central role. The long line of later Greek and Roman authors who refer to Pindar as a major figure in literary history are not just reflecting the reality of his afterlife in their day but also responding to and affirming a central feature of his poetics.

In a letter to his brother touching on a disappointing reaction to his work among his contemporaries, Keats looks forward to his afterlife: 'this is a mere matter of a moment—I think I shall be among the English Poets after my death' (25 October 1818). Pindar of Thebes may or may not have ever earnestly thought something comparable, but the rhetoric of his poems often expresses a more or less explicit hope to belong to a canon. A lifetime of prestigious and widespread commissions throughout the Greek world afforded him and his patrons better grounds for such a hope than Keats ever enjoyed.

⁸⁰ E.g. *O.* 1.116, 9.1–3; see Part Two.

For Pindar, a poem must be excellent in order to be remembered.⁸¹ As Herington (1985) 63 writes, ‘a clumsy or dull poem could not then, as such a poem can now, expect even a dubious survival in the dry dock of a printed book; it would founder without trace at first performance.’ Living as we do in an era when an enormous amount of textual material (including this monograph) is preserved and disseminated as a matter of course, we are at risk of underrating the audaciousness of Pindar’s hopes to achieve permanence. In his day, the body of literary texts that were widely known and long preserved was relatively circumscribed. Within this group of poems none seems to have cast as large a shadow as Homeric epic. By putting himself alongside these works Pindar was making a very big claim.

5. EPIGRAMMATIC INTERACTIONS: NEMEAN 5

We can attain a fresh perspective on the rhetoric and realities of epinician communication by comparing a related but humbler set of texts: early inscribed epigrams. This section examines odes that evoke monumental commemoration and then delves into broader congruities between epinicians and epigrams. Pindar’s relationship to the plastic arts has been much discussed; the present discussion is distinguished by a focus on epigrams and their characteristic modes of verbal expression.⁸²

Ergoteles of Himera, the subject of Pindar’s *Olympian* 12, erected a statue at Olympia as another ‘deathless memorial’ (ἀθάνατον μνῆμα, 393; cf. *O.* 12.13–19). Pindar himself repeatedly presents epinician as parallel to and (at least notionally) in competition with monumental commemoration. Inscriptions, however, are very probably also at issue in these passages. Without a textual component, a monument for athletic victory would not have been able to identify for posterity its individual, non-mythological subject and thereby fulfil its commemorative purpose. Such monuments hence regularly include

⁸¹ Cf. *O.* 9.21–7, *N.* 4.6–8, *I.* 4.37–42, 7.18–19, fr. 121.

⁸² Steiner (1993), Bernardini (2000), P. O’Sullivan (2003), R. Thomas (2007), R. R. R. Smith (2007), Pavlou (2010a, 2010b), Athanassaki (2011a, 2011b), Day (2010) 200–28, (2013), Fearn (2013). In this section *comparanda* are drawn from *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*. Numbers in italics refer to items in *CEG*.

inscriptions. In order to evoke a parallel medium of memorialization, Pindar's comparisons of his work to physical memorials must also encompass a textual element. This inference receives support from parallels with the language of epigrams that are set out in this section.

Epigrams, like epinicians, aimed at permanence but communicated with a geographically narrow public and were seldom if ever closely tied to a poet of broad repute.⁸³ Pindar's references to this related mode of memorialization sometimes stress the superior power of his work by asserting a claim to a broader audience because of his authorial skill. 'Il tema più importante su cui epinici ed epigrammi si trovavano a competere è quello della trasmissibilità del *kleos*' (Nobili (2016) 95). Funerary inscriptions emphasize the attractiveness of the physical monument, which is presented as the primary means of commemoration and is often ascribed to a named craftsman, as the verse inscription is not;⁸⁴ Pindar's poems emphasize their verbal artistry, which will enable them to fulfil their commemorative function by attracting secondary audiences. One funerary inscription closes by naming the artist who endowed the monument with the qualities which every viewer is invited to appreciate: *καλὸν ἰδέναι ἀφ' οὗ τὰρ Φαίδιμος ἐργάσατο*, 'Phaedimus fashioned this beautiful to see' (18). *Isthmian* 2 closes by highlighting the poet's skill, which will garner widespread interest: *οὐκ ἐλινύσσοντας αὐτοὺς ἐργασάμαν*, 'I did not fashion them [*sc.* my poems] in order to remain in one place' (46).

In *Pythian* 6 Pindar's excellent poetry surpasses a paragon of durability (7–18):

... ἐτοῖμος ὕμνων
 θησαυρὸς ἐν πολυχρύσῳ
 Ἀπολλωνίαι τετεῖχισται νάπαι·
 τὸν οὔτε χειμέριος ὄμβρος, ἐπακτὸς ἐλθὼν
 ἐριβρόμου νεφέλας
 στρατὸς ἀμείλιχος, οὔτ' ἄνεμος ἐς μυχούς
 ἀλὸς ἄξιοι παμφόρῳ χεράδει
 τυπτόμενον. φάει δὲ πρόσωπον ἐν καθαρῷ
 πατρὶ τεῶι, Θρασύβουλε, κοινὰν τε γενεάν

⁸³ Scodel (1992) 70: an inscription 'is meant to remain in place, speaking in a local voice'. Page (1981) 196: 'inscriptions were unsigned, and as a rule nobody in the fifth century B.C. showed curiosity about their authorship,' note Sider (2007) 117–19 on Simonides.

⁸⁴ Cf. Day (2013) 224–5.

λόγοις θνατῶν
 εὐδοξὸν ἄρματι νίκαν
 Κρισαίαις ἐνὶ πτυχαῖς ἀπαγγελεῖ.

... a ready treasure house of songs has been built in Apollo's valley of much gold, which neither wintry rain, having come from abroad as a ruthless army from a rumbling cloud, nor wind shall beat and with all-carrying silt bear off into the depths of the sea. But in clear daylight its front will proclaim a chariot victory in the glens of Crisa and make it famous in mortals' speech, a victory held in common by your father, Thrasybulus, and by your clan.

Poetic glory is imagined as an unnatural eternity of spotless sunshine (φάει... ἐν καθαρῶνι, 14)⁸⁵ in contrast with the preceding weather imagery, commonplaces for the vicissitudes of time. A monument's claim to permanence resides in its stable physical structure, but immaterial words, if they are of unforgettable quality, cannot be so easily destroyed.⁸⁶ Pindar's 'announcement' (ἀπαγγελεῖ, 18) of his patron's victory evokes the herald's announcement of that victory at the site of the games but promises to reiterate that same message indefinitely through time. As in many inscriptions, this ode advertises its permanence through a future-tense verb which simultaneously fulfils its own promise in the present and points forward to the future. Thus, for example, an archaic funerary stele will speak for all time: *στέλεν ἀκάματον, | ἡάτις ἐρεῖ παριῶσι διαμερὲς ἄματα πάντα*, 'a tireless stele, which will speak to those who pass by continually all its days' (108; cf. e.g. 142, 491, 492). In *Pythian* 6, as in some inscriptions, negatives in a description of the future (10–14) evoke the natural course of destruction and oblivion which artificial memorialization overcomes. Thus a fourth-century stele from Athens records a subject that will never be forgotten: *τὴν σὴν δὲ ἀρετὴν οὐθεὶς [φθ]ίσει αἰῶν*, 'no age will destroy your excellence' (611).⁸⁷

Nemean 8 addresses the victor's deceased father (44–8):

⁸⁵ Cf. *Od.* 4.566–7, *Pind.* *O.* 1.97–8, *Pae.* 2.50–2, *B.* 13.175–81.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Il.* 22.510–14, *Simon.* 581, *Svenbro* (1976) 188–93, *Ford* (2002) 105–9. *Ford* (1992) 136–57 and *Scodel* (1992) 66 find a similar eristic engagement with physical memorials in the *Iliad*.

⁸⁷ Cf. 491, 627, *Thgn.* 245, *Simon.* 531, *B.* 3.90–2, 13.169–81.

ὦ Μέγα, τὸ δ' αὖτις τεὰν ψυχὰν κομίζειαι
 οὐ μοι δυνατόν· κενεᾶν δ' ἐλπίδων χαῦνον τέλος·
 σεῦ δὲ πάτραι Χαριάδαις τ' ἐλαφρόν⁸⁸
 ὑπερεῖσαι λίθον
 Μοισαῖον ἕκατι ποδῶν εὐωνύμων
 δις δὴ δυοῖν.

O Megas, it is impossible for me to bring back your soul; that is the vain goal of empty hopes. But it is easy for me to erect a loud-sounding stone of the Muses for your fatherland and for the Chariadae because of twice-famous pairs of feet.

Although Pindar cannot return Megas to the world of the living, the deceased is imaginatively conjured back into presence through direct address, as in funerary inscriptions (e.g. *Ἀλκίμαχ'*, *εὐδοχὸν σε χ[υτὲ κ]ατὰ γαί'* *ἐκάλυφεν*, 69; cf. 5, 50, 95). Pindar's enduring 'stone of the Muses' (47) consoles the deceased and his family by enacting a vision of posthumous glory previously articulated (*θανῶν ὡς παιεὶ κλέος | μὴ τὸ δύσφαιμον προσάψω*, 36–7). Real funeral monuments regularly promise to provide an enduring memorial for the deceased.

In *Nemean* 4 Pindar mentions his patron's request to include a family member in this epinician (79–88):

εἰ δέ τοι
 μάτρωι μ' ἔτι Καλλικλεῖ κελεύεις
 στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέραν·
 ὁ χρυσὸς ἐψόμενος
 αὐγὰς ἔδειξεν ἀπάσας, ὕμνος δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
 ἐργμάτων βασιλεῦσιν ἰσοδαίμονα τεύχει
 φῶτα· κείνος ἀμφ' Ἀχέροντι ναιετάων ἐμάν
 γλῶσσαν εὐρέτω κελαδῆτιν, Ὀρσοτριάνα
 ἦν' ἐν ἀγῶνι βαρυκτύπου
 θάλησε Κορινθίοις σελίνοις.

But if you order me also to set up for your maternal uncle Callicles a stele whiter than Parian marble—refined gold displays all its light; a song for noble deeds makes a man equal in fortune to kings—let that man who dwells by the Acheron discover my voice resounding where, in the games of

⁸⁸ *λάβρον* (MSS) is nicely paradoxical, but so is Cookesly's *ἐλαφρόν*, a slight change which provides the infinitive with a far more lucid construction. Cf. Carey (1976) 41 n. 53, Henry (2005) 88–9.

the deep-thundering Wielder of the Trident, he blossomed with Corinthian parsley.

By recording his patron's request for a memorial for his deceased uncle, Pindar recalls funerary inscriptions recording the family members who erected a physical memorial. Thus an archaic stele, for example, describes the history of its construction: *Αἰσιμ[ίδος] δὲ [σε]μα φίλε μέτερ κα[τέ]θηκεν*, 'his dear mother set down this grave of Aesimides' (35; cf. e.g. 14, 40, 41). In inscriptions *τίθημι* (cf. *θέμεν*, N. 4.81) is a common verb for erecting such a monument. By locating his praise at the Isthmus (86–8), the site of Callicles' triumph, Pindar also evokes a statue erected at the sites of the games.⁸⁹ Inscriptions often highlight the attractiveness of their accompanying monument. One boasts that it is made of Parian marble (*Παρίο λίθο*, 153). *Nemean* 4 appropriates this sort of rhetoric but sets itself apart through what Zellner (2006) terms a 'supra-superlative': this poetic memorial is brighter than even the brightest, most luxuriant monument because it engages more attention than any monument could (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.8.13–20). Pindar's ode makes Callicles as prosperous as a king, a paradigm of wealth (*βασιλεῦσιν ἰσοδαίμονα*, 84). *ἰσοδαίμονα* (84), however, connotes *εὐδαιμονία* and thereby a broader sphere of well-being in which a common citizen may eclipse royalty. 'Equal in flourishing' amounts to 'more blessed still' through poetic meiosis.⁹⁰ Wealth is a source of pleasure within one's lifetime, but enduring poetry is more valuable insofar as it shapes the meaning of one's life viewed as a whole.⁹¹ Inscriptions purport to console through an excellent monument and enduring renown; Pindar's poem does both to a degree that makes even Parian marble look chintzy.

Isthmian 8 enacts the principle illustrated in its Trojan myth as it turns to the present (59–62):

ἔδοξ' ἦρα καὶ ἀθανάτοις,
ἐκλόν γε φῶτα καὶ φθίμε-
νον ὕμνοισ θεῶν διδόμεν.
τὸ καὶ νῦν φέρει λόγον, ἔς-

⁸⁹ On the practice see Steiner (1993) 160.

⁹⁰ Cf. *ὁμοίως* at O. 11.10 and P. 9.78, Bundy (1986) 18, Young (1983b) 160. 'Richer/happier than a king' is the common trope (Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 135 on Hor. *Carm.* 3.9.4).

⁹¹ Carey (1977–8) 70 collects relevant parallels.

κυταί τε Μοισαῖον ἄρμα Νικοκλέος
 μνάμα πυγμάχου κελαδῆσαι.

And so it seemed best also to the immortals to give over a noble man, although dead, to the songs of the goddesses [*sc.* the Muses]. That holds true now too, and the Muses' chariot speeds to sing a memorial for the boxer Nicocles.

As the Muses honoured Achilles with a threnody, so Pindar's poem honours Nicocles, the victor's deceased relative.⁹² This poetic μνάμα (62), a *vox propria* for a physical funerary memorial, evokes a material tomb parallel with that of Achilles.⁹³ Yet the salient parallel for this song is less Achilles' tomb and more the Muses' threnody for him. The description of Achilles' funeral looks to the *Aethiopis* (arg. 4 GEF) and perhaps also the *Odyssey* (24.60–2), both elsewhere in Pindar alluded to as widely-known works (IV.4).⁹⁴ The preceding résumé of Achilles' martial achievements explicitly recalls poetic precedent (47–8). The Muses' threnody, the memory of which was preserved in well-known epics, provides a paradigmatic example of poetry memorializing valour. θρῆνόν τε πολύφαιμον, 'their glorious lament' (I. 8.58), summons to mind its later fame in the literary tradition.⁹⁵

Funerary monuments regularly claim to confer lasting glory, but *Isthmian* 8 makes a bolder implicit claim by assimilating a contemporary to Achilles, a singular paragon of glory (cf. Simon. 11.19–25 W). This epinician disassociates itself from the everyday genre of inscriptions, which littered the roadsides, and links itself to a more elevated congener with a different place in the literary landscape: canonical hexameter epics. Pindaric epinician promises a sort of commemoration different from the normal plot of earth and slab of stone with some rough-hewn verses.

⁹² τό (I. 8.61) refers to the preceding maxim (cf. O. 6.17). φέρει λόγον (61), looking back to ἔδοξ' (59), evidently means 'applies, hold true' (Carey (1981) 202, Maslov (2015) 269, who reviews other interpretations). Compare the common phrase ἔχει λόγον (so Σ 133b).

⁹³ See CEG indices s.v. μνήμα. Cf. Pind. fr. 128c.5 ὧς οἱ σταθῇ μνάμας τ' ἀποσφραγισμένον.

⁹⁴ Mann (1994) 315 persuasively argues that this passage looks primarily to the *Aethiopis*, where 'the funeral was presented not as digression, but as part of the main course of the narrative'. Sotiriou (1998) 242–4 discusses verbal similarities with *Odyssey* 24.

⁹⁵ Cf. Gerber (1982) 25, Hummel (1992) 290–1.

The opening of *Nemean* 5 is the *locus classicus* for Pindar's engagement with monumental commemoration (1–5):

Οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ', ὥστ' ἐλινύσοντα ἐργά-
 ζεσθαι ἀγάλματ' ἐπ' αὐτὰς βαθμίδος
 ἐσταότ'· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσας
 ὀλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτῳ, γλυκεῖ' αἰοιδά,
 στεῖχ' ἀπ' Αἰγίνας διαγγέλλοις, ὅτι
 Λάμπωνος υἱὸς Πυθέας εὐρυθενῆς
 νίκη Νεμείοις παγκρατίου στέφανον...

I am not a sculptor, so as to fashion stationary statues standing on the same base. Rather, on every ship and in every boat, sweet song, make your way from Aegina spreading the announcement that Lampon's mighty son Pytheas wins the crown for the pancratium in Nemea's games...

Mention of another profession involved in the economy of athletic memorialization calls to mind the poet's own profession. Pindar both assimilates and dissimilates his trade to statuary. His charge to his ode to 'spread the announcement' (διαγγέλλοις, 3) evokes the speaking objects of epigram.⁹⁶ An exceptionally compressed delivery of 'necessary encomiastic information' in the following lines (3–5) evokes the necessarily brief compass of lapidary inscriptions preserving essential facts for posterity.⁹⁷

Inscriptions often announce that they have been placed in a high-traffic area, where they were likeliest to be read and thereby fulfil their commemorative function. Thus a sixth-century funerary stele describes its own location 'near the road' (ἐγγυς ὁδοῦ, 16). *Nemean* 5 inverts this trope: far from claiming any single desirable location (ἐπ' αὐτὰς βαθμίδος, 1), it will reproduce itself through countless channels of dissemination (ἐπὶ πάσας ὀλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτῳ, 2). The poem becomes a sort of living statue: στεῖχ' (3), contrasting with ἐσταότ' (2), is standardly predicated of an animate subject.⁹⁸ Excellent statuary approximates motion (O. 7.52); excellent odes really move. γλυκεῖ' (2), evoking the enjoyment of secondary audiences, explains

⁹⁶ See Steiner (1993) 176, P. O'Sullivan (2003) 82, and, more generally, Tueller (2008) ch. 1.

⁹⁷ The 'necessary encomiastic information' common to inscriptions and epinicians is the victor's community (ἀπ' Αἰγίνας, N. 5.3), name (Πυθέας, 4), father (Λάμπωνος υἱός, 4), event (παγκρατίου, 5), and festival (Νεμείοις, 5). See Race (1986) 26–7, Köhnken (2007) 295.

⁹⁸ Before Pindar the verb is predicated of an inanimate subject only at Alc. 6.2; cf. B. 9.47.

why the ode will travel so widely (cf. *O.* 9.21–8). This epinician has statuesque durability but surpasses monumental commemoration on the spatial axis.

An affinity between epinician and monumental commemoration was perceived in the fifth century and is repeatedly explored within Pindar's odes. The passages which we have discussed point towards deeper congruities between epigrams and epinicians. Inscriptions, like victory odes, are constructed in order to communicate with a public ignorant of their subject and derive worth from their ability to do so. As Susini (1973) 64 writes, 'the person who entrusts his message to a tombstone inscription is addressing a future society, which he envisages as valuing this message and before which he wants to assert himself.' One early funerary epigram invites the viewer to learn the name of the deceased: *δεῦρο ἰὸν ἀνάνεμαι, ἀνὲρ τίς τῆδε τέθαππται*, 'come here and read which man had been buried here' (108). Other inscriptions enact a dialogue between knowledgeable stone and naive but curious human interlocutor.⁹⁹ One late archaic dedicatory inscription imparts the same answer to all who question it: *πᾶσιν ἔς' ἀνθρώποις ὑποκρίνομαι ἡόστις ἐ[ρο]τᾷ | ἡός μ' ἀνέθεκ' ἀνδρῶν*, 'for all mankind I give the same answer to whoever asks which man dedicated me' (286). Both epinicians and epigrams establish a speaking scenario capable of endless reiteration (cf. Schmitz (2010)).

Epinician and epigram alike aim at the greatest possible reception. Epinicians often remark on their own dissemination; inscriptions point up the fact that they stand where they may attract the most attention.¹⁰⁰ Inscriptions, like epinicians, are meant to be intelligible to a broad public. Pindar sometimes identifies his secondary audiences as simply 'someone' (e.g. *N.* 7.68, fr. 520.35); the audience of an inscription is often identified as a generic passer-by (*ἀνθροπε ἡὸςτείχε[ι]ς καθ'οδόν*, 28; cf. 80, 108, 518, Tueller (2010)). A sixth-century Athenian grave inscription addresses 'either some townsman or a foreigner come from elsewhere' (*εἴτε ἀστό]ς τις ἀνὲρ εἴτε χείνός ἄλλοθεν ἐλθόν*, 13; cf. *N.* 7.64–9).

⁹⁹ Cf. 429, Kassel (1983), Tueller (2010) 54–7, Nobili (2016) ch. 9.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. e.g. 16, 74, 167. Walsh (1991) 78: 'an inscribed stone was meant not just to announce "here lies so-and-so", but also to disseminate the information as widely as possible.'

In both epinicians and funerary epigrams the rhetoric of permanence has a consolatory function. Some grave inscriptions, like victory odes, contrast their mortal subject with its immortal afterlife.¹⁰¹ Both types of text use the rhetoric of permanence to enlarge audiences' experience by calling to mind others who have approached and will approach a textual memorial. Some inscriptions invoke later generations explicitly, often with the substantive future participle familiar from Homer and virtually confined to this usage (e.g. πολλοῖς μνάμα καὶ ἔσομένοις, 136).¹⁰²

A monument, as Elizabeth Bishop writes, wants 'to be a monument, to cherish something' (*The Monument*). Both epinicians and inscriptions make their commemorative purpose, fulfilled in interactions with their audiences, a central theme. A classical public inscription describes its goal as 'indicating the excellence' of its subject (σεμαίνειν ἀρετ[έν, 10; cf. δαίιταν μανύει, P. 1.93; τεὰν ἀρετὰν | μανῶν ἐπιχθονίοισιν, B. 10.13–14). Both inscriptions and epinicians thematize intentional communication. Inscriptions often state that someone erected a memorial *in order for* its subject to be remembered. Thus an inscription from Rhodes describes the motivation behind its construction: *ἰδᾶμενεὺς ποιήσα ἡίνα κλέος εἴη*, 'I, Idameneus, made this *sēma* so that I might have glory' (459). Exegetic infinitives (e.g. 399, 518, 624) and purpose clauses (e.g. 344, 698, 865) often describe intentions which are fulfilled by those who read these sentences. Pindar evokes this rhetoric of intentionality when engaging with epigrams,¹⁰³ but even when not looking to monumental commemoration, victory odes frequently forefront the poet's desire to commemorate his subject and the victor's desire to be remembered, what impelled him to undertake the outlay of competing in the games and commissioning a leading poet in order to achieve 'most desired fame' (*ποθεινοτάταν δόξαν*, O. 8.64). This represented desire for commemoration is fulfilled in real acts of reception.

A comparison with epigrams may also shed light on the type of enduring commemoration which Pindar's poetry is interested in providing. Epinician can convey a far more vivid picture of a person

¹⁰¹ E.g. 103, 108, 548; cf. O. 10.91–6, B. 13.61–6.

¹⁰² E.g. 264, 356; cf. I. 4.39, B. 9.81.

¹⁰³ Cf. Pind. N. 4.79–85, 8.44–50, fr. 128c.5. Already Od. 4.584, 11.75–6, 24.80–4 may evoke such language.

than any inscription, but neither medium is much interested in transmitting a portrait of the sort familiar to us from modern or Plutarchan biography. Both epinicians and inscriptions deploy an array of tropes to connect a name with ideals which are fairly formulaic though susceptible to unlimited variation. By assimilating their subject to a generalized type, these media render individuals in a way more, and not less, memorable. An inscription, like an epinician, at once preserves the irreducible singularity of a name, the single most important datum to be recorded, and erases individuality by subsuming a person into larger public patterns already familiar to every audience that meets the text.¹⁰⁴

6. INTERWOVEN PERSPECTIVES: *NEMEAN* 7 AND *PAEAN* 6

οἱ δ' ἐπὶ δὴ πείσονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐτήτυμόν ἐστιν.

And they will believe it, because it is true.

Hymn. Hom. 3.176

By assimilating his works to physical monuments and their inscriptions, Pindar implies that his odes, like inscriptions, are capable of communicating with a range of audiences, including those without extensive first-hand knowledge of the subject which they commemorate. Are his odes in fact thus intelligible to audiences removed from the circumstances of their first performance? *Nemean* 7 provides a fascinating test case.

According to one line of thinking recorded in the ancient scholia, in *Nemean* 7 Pindar defends himself against the Aeginetans' indignation at his treatment of Neoptolemus in an earlier paean.¹⁰⁵ This 'apology thesis' has been accepted by most modern Pindarists.¹⁰⁶ Since its

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Young (1971) 46, Day (1989) 18: 'this is the kind of "biography" that lies at the heart of archaic encomium, namely brief formulaic expressions which cause the subject to conform to an archetype'; Nicholson (2016a) 56: 'the athletes of epinician are a generic bunch.' See Carey (1989a) 3 and Day (2010) 7 on the importance of names.

¹⁰⁵ Rutherford (2001a) 321 n. 64 prints relevant scholia together.

¹⁰⁶ Important dissenting voices include Bundy (1986) 4, 28–9, Lefkowitz (1963) 182, Slater (1969), Thummer (1968–9) i.94–8, Köhnken (1971) 37–86, Burnett (1998), Currie (2005) 326–31.

publication in 1908, *Paeon* 6 has often been thought to confirm the interpretation.¹⁰⁷ That poem describes how Apollo killed Neoptolemus in Delphi because Neoptolemus had slayed Priam at the altar of Zeus of the Courtyard in Troy (112–20; cf. *Sack of Iliion* arg. 2 GEF).

If true, the apology thesis could have far-reaching implications for our approach to Pindar. In order to make sense of *Nemean* 7, we would need to understand a circumstantial background which would have been unavailable to ancient secondary audiences removed from its first performance. The same could well hold true for other odes. But *Nemean* 7, like much of Pindar's poetry and like the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (quoted as the epigraph of this section), explicitly advertises its ability to communicate with both immediate and subsequent audiences. I interpret the final lines of the poem, which constitute the best evidence for the apology thesis and perhaps the single most difficult passage in the Pindaric corpus, in a manner consonant with this self-presentation. I then discuss the possible relevance of the final triad of *Paeon* 6. These pages are meant to illustrate and vindicate a general heuristic principle by applying it to a particularly challenging case: when puzzled by Pindar's train of thought, one should work toward understanding by employing knowledge available to his fifth-century secondary audiences.

Nemean 7 advertises its ability to satisfy both a potentially diverse public on Aegina and a vague secondary audience in time to come (61–9):

ξείνός εἰμι· σκοτεινὸν ἀπέχων ψόγον,
 ὕδατος ὥτε ῥοὰς φίλον ἐς ἄνδρ' ἄγων
 κλέος ἐτήτυμον αἰνέσω·
 ποτίφορος δ' ἀγαθοῖσι μισθὸς οὗτος.
 ἐὼν δ' ἐγγὺς Ἀχαιὸς οὐ μέμψεταιί μ' ἀνήρ
 Ἰονίας ὑπὲρ ἄλλος οἶ-
 κέων, καὶ προξενίαι πέποιθ', ἔν τε δαμόταις
 ὄμματι δέρκομαι λαμπρόν, οὐχ ὑπερβαλὼν,
 βίαια πάντ' ἐκ ποδὸς ἐρύσαις· ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς εὐφρων
 ποτὶ χρόνος ἔρποι. μαθὼν δέ τις ἀνερεῖ,
 εἰ παρ μέλος ἔρχομαι ψάγιον ὄαρρον ἐννέπων.

I am a guest-friend. Holding off shadowy blame, I shall lead truthful fame like streams of water to a man who is my friend and I will praise him, for that

¹⁰⁷ See Grenfell and Hunt (1908b) 20, Wilamowitz (1908).

is the appropriate reward for noble men. If near, an Achaean man dwelling over the Ionian Sea will not blame me; and I am confident in my host's hospitality, and among the townsmen I have a bright look in my eye, since I have not overshot the mark, but rather I have drawn away everything forced from my way. May future time come favourably. One who knows will speak out if I come uttering a crooked speech out of tune.

Here Pindar analyses his multi-layered public into its constituent parts. He has a personal relationship with his patron as a guest-friend (61),¹⁰⁸ but his praise adheres to objective standards of truth which are universally valid, both in the *hic et nunc* and in the future. The poet can boldly meet the gaze of the Aeginetans, who have a special interest in the Aeacidae and first-hand knowledge of Pindar's patron and his character. *ἐν τε δαμόταις | ὄμματι δέρκομαι λαμπρόν* (65–6) describes a confident gaze in face-to-face interpersonal interactions with the citizens that he meets as a visitor to Aegina (*ξείνός*, 61).¹⁰⁹ Lines 66–7 abjure distortive exaggeration easily detected by them and explain the poet's confidence: he tells the truth. In addition to the Aeginetans, a Molossian with a vested interest in Neoptolemus and his Molossian connections (cf. 38–40), if present at the performance, will find no fault with the hero's treatment in this poem. Aeginetans and a Molossian together constitute a universalizing doublet of locals and non-locals (cf. *O.* 7.90, *I.* 1.51). *Nemean* 7 satisfies everybody present at its premiere performance, no matter where they hail from.

In addition to this potentially diverse initial audience, there is also a remote and vague secondary audience. This passage, like many others (III), traces the life of an epinician from its performance to its later afterlife. The idea of 'time to come' (*λοιπός... χρόνος*, 67–8) introduces the theme of future reception.¹¹⁰ Pindar's vague 'someone' (68) implicates those who will encounter this work after its debut.

¹⁰⁸ Speaker as truth-telling guest-friend: Gundert (1935) 32–9, Kurke (1991) ch. 6, D'Alessio (1994a) 127, Park (2013) 35. *ξείνός* (61) rules out the Aeginetan chorus and victor as the speaker (*pace*, most recently, Maslov (2015) 108 n. 209, 229).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *N.* 10.40–1, *D. L.* Cairns (2005b) 130–1. Pindar probably does not describe his relationship to his fellow Theban citizens, an issue not much discussed in poems for non-Thebans. See further Most (1985b) 327–30, Loscalzo (2000) 183–91, Currie (2005) 315–6, 340–3, (2013) 247. I take *προξενία* (65) to refer to the patron's hospitality of Pindar (cf. *ξείνός*, 61). For the poet's confidence in his truth cf. *O.* 4.17–18, 6.19–21, 9.108–9, 13.11–13, *P.* 2.65–7, *N.* 6.26–8, 7.50–2.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *χρόνος ἔρπων* (*N.* 4.43) with Miller (1983) 213 n. 42, Bulman (1992) 66.

As in several other passages, indefinite future audiences are invoked with a future verb and an indefinite pronoun (τις ἀνερρεῖ, 68).¹¹¹ The poet composes not just for those physically near to him on Aegina (ἐγγύς, 64) but also for someone in times still far off from the present (ποτὶ χρόνος ἔρποι, 68; cf. O. 10.7).

Pindar's wish for a kindly future in lines 67–8 is defined in part by opposition to the next sentence: if others proclaim that he lies, the future will not be kind. Taken together, these statements amount to an assertion: 'if I lie, I will be found out; in full awareness of this, I will not lie.'¹¹² If in the future anyone declares Pindar's praise untruthful (69), his goal of lasting commemoration fails: time winnows out lies.¹¹³ *Nemean* 7 itself enacts this principle by cutting down Odysseus' exaggerated reputation (20–4) and in turn perpetuating the true and therefore lasting fame of Neoptolemus.¹¹⁴

Theognis contrasts his subsequent reception with his fraught relationship to his Megarian contemporaries (22–4):

... ὦδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἔρεῖ· 'Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη
τοῦ Μεγαρέως· πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστός'.¹¹⁵
ἄστοϊσιν δ' οὐπω πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύναμαι.

... thus everyone will say: 'These are the verses of Theognis of Megara. His name is famous throughout all mankind.' But I am not yet able to please all my fellow townsmen.

¹¹¹ Cf. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ δὴ πείσονται (*Hymn. Hom.* 3.176); μνάσεται τινά (Sa. 147); πᾶς τις ἔρεῖ (Thgn. 22); τις [μνή]ξεῖται (Simon. 11.24 W); μνάσει ... τινά (Pind. fr. 520.35); τις ὑμνήσει (B. 3.97). Cf. Howie (2012) 295–7; contrast Most (1985a) 190.

¹¹² Cf. O. 4.17–18 with Mader (1990) 49, Pfeijffer (1999b) 47, Xen. Ages. 5.7: εἰ δ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα ψεύδομαι ἀντὶα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπισταμένης ἐκείνον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαινώ, ἔμμαντόν δὲ ψέγω.

¹¹³ Thgn. 607–10, Simon. 541.3–5, B. 13.204–9, Gildersleeve (1885) 217–18, Pearson (1917) i.217, Pratt (1993) 117. In *Olympian* 1 time reveals the truth about Tantalus (33–4; cf. fr. 159). In *Nemean* 8 Odysseus wins κῦδος ... καθρόν (34). This glory 'must be qualified as "rotten" because in time it will prove as specious as Odysseus' own rhetoric' (Bulman (1992) 49).

¹¹⁴ N. 7.31–2: τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται | ὦν θεὸς ἄβρὸν αὔξει λόγον τεθνακότων. *Nemean* 7 is praise cὺν θεοῖς (I. 1.6), i.e. with truth, sincerity, insight, and inspired skill (Bundy (1986) 29–32); contrast Homer's artificial, distortive μαχαναί (N. 7.22).

¹¹⁵ The quotation extends to the end of the line (contrast West (1974) 149–50). 'He is' may be more readily supplied than 'I am' or 'I will be'. οὐπω (24) will mean 'not yet', the commoner sense, which here lucidly follows the future ἔρεῖ (22). πᾶς τις (22) and πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους (23) will someday include the Megarians. Cf. Condello (2009–10) 93–4 and note Thgn. 251–4 for a similar contrast between the future and the present.

Theognis cannot yet please all his Megarian contemporaries, but he will eventually be vindicated by the praise of unbiased judges; Pindar, by contrast, in our passage envisions the univocal agreement of all his audiences, both in the *hic et nunc* and throughout time and space. For him, it is emphatically not the case that 'the local traditions on which the poet's immediate audience have been reared constitute the ultimate criterion of "truth"' (Nagy (1979) 3 n. 6). In order to constitute true and enduring κλέος (63), his epinician must be true for a range of audiences, in Aegina and everywhere, now and in the future.¹¹⁶ Our passage makes the various parts of the poet's audiences acutely aware of other perspectives. Secondary audiences think of how the Aeginetans once received this poem; the Aeginetans would have been invited to imagine how Pindar's praise of Neoptolemus, a figure with a less than sparkling reputation, would be received beyond the bounds of their community. All audiences are invited to have the impression of sharing in the truth with others.

Pindar, according to his own words, composes not only for an audience on Aegina but also for a broader public throughout space and time. This should make one wary of the idea that *Nemean 7* reflects a controversy which, if it did exist, was unlikely to be well known outside Aegina or remembered in time to come. The broadest and perhaps most powerful objection against the apology theory may be that it runs counter to the essence of Pindar's authorial project. The idea that *Nemean 7* apologizes for a previous treatment of Neoptolemus in a paean deserves as much a priori deference as the notion, also recorded in the scholia, that Sogenes was announced as the victor although an Achaeian named Neoptolemus actually competed (Σ 1a). Both hypotheses are crutches cobbled together from the evidence of the text by ancient interpreters unable to make sense of it on its own terms.¹¹⁷ There is no need for us to lean on such artificial and untrustworthy supports here or elsewhere in the Pindaric corpus.

¹¹⁶ Bowra (1964) 32, speaking generally: 'in putting his trust in time to put things right Pindar asserts his desire to make his songs endure through the ages, knowing that any touch of falsehood will in due course discredit and ruin them.' Cf. Lloyd-Jones (1973) 135, Mann (1994) 329.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Fränkel (1961) 388–9, O. L. Smith (1984) 1, Heath (1993) 191. Enrico Prodi *per litteras* notes that the independent transmission of the final triad of *Paean 6* may have played a role in the formation of the ancient apology thesis.

Proponents of the apology hypothesis generally and rightly agree that the closing lines of the ode represent their strongest evidence.¹¹⁸ But there is good reason to suppose that the end of *Nemean* 7, like the rest of this poem and the rest of Pindar's poetry, was constructed to be comprehensible to secondary audiences. This passage, perhaps the most difficult in the corpus, can be explained using knowledge available to his contemporary secondary audiences. Although it may be impossible to achieve consensus about the many challenges of these lines, it is certainly possible to interpret them without reference to the apology hypothesis (102–4):

τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὐ ποτε φάσει κέαρ
ἀτρόποισι Νεοπτόλεμον ἐλκύσαι
ἔπει.

Translate thus: 'my heart will say that it never¹¹⁹ took down¹²⁰ Neoptolemus with harsh words.'¹²¹ As elsewhere in Pindar, a denial here amounts to an assertion.¹²² By denying that he 'took down' Neoptolemus with 'harsh words', the speaker asserts that he has raised up Neoptolemus with gentle words of praise: *χρῆ δὲ κωμάζοντ' ἀγαναῖς χαρίτεσσιν βαστάσαι*, 'one must raise him [*sc.* the victor] up with gentle poems of praise as he revels' (*I.* 3.8). In its closing lines *Nemean* 7 declares that it has completed its task of eulogy (cf. *O.* 10.97–100).

¹¹⁸ Tugendhat (1960) 404, Gianotti (1966) 405, Setti (1970) 428, Fogelmark (1972) 106, Lloyd-Jones (1973) 136, Kirkwood (1982) 259, Gentili (1979) 14, (1988) 143, Carey (1981) 135, Most (1985a) 208, D'Alessio (1994a) 136–7, Bernard (1996–7) 105, Rutherford (2001a) 322; cf. Arrighetti (1987) 91–2, 96–7.

¹¹⁹ The negative is best construed with the infinitive, not with the verb of saying; cf. Slater (1969) 93, J. R. Wilson (1988), Race (1990) 61–2 n. 6, Hummel (1993) 309, Slater (2001).

¹²⁰ *ἐλκύσαι* (*N.* 7.103) does not refer to dogs rending a corpse, *pace* Σ 150a, Steiner (2001) 156, and 'almost everyone since antiquity till now' (Lloyd-Jones (1973) 136). Dogs do not feature in *Nemean* 7. It is unlikely that the bare verb evokes an uncommon, grizzly scenario. The infinitive refers to wrestling; cf. *N.* 4.94, Poliakoff (1982) 138, 141, Henry (2005) 48. Earlier in *Nemean* 7 Pindar likens the remaining part of his work to the wrestling portion of the pentathlon, the final event (70–3).

¹²¹ The sense of *ἀτρόποισι* (*N.* 7.103) is debated; Loscalzo (2000) 222–4 provides a doxography. I understand it to mean that which does not turn and hence that which is hard, harsh (cf. *ἀγναμπτος*, *ἄστρεπτος*, LSJ⁹) and the *Revised Supplement* s.v. *ἄτροπος*. Praise is conventionally gentle, abuse conventionally hard (Hubbard (1985) 71–5). A concrete sense for *ἀτρόποισι* (103) suits *ἐλκύσαι* (103; cf. *I.* 3.8).

¹²² E.g. *οὐ μέμψεται* (*N.* 7.64) ≈ will praise; cf. Carey (1981) 162, Race (1990) 70. Not all Pindaric litotes are equivalent to their precise opposite: e.g. *P.* 8.21, *N.* 3.15–16. Contrast Cerri (1976) 86.

Emphasis on the first person (τὸ δ' ἐμὸν, 102) implies a contrast (cf. O. 1.52, P. 5.72). In immediate context, the speaker's task of praise (something under his control) contrasts with the preceding prayer to Heracles for the future (something outside his control).¹²³ On another level, the speaker's attitude toward Neoptolemus contrasts with the tradition generally and with older epic poetry in particular.¹²⁴ This closing statement is part of Pindar's 'rehabilitation of the tainted hero' (Pelliccia (1995) 351). With a future-tense verb (φάσει, 102) that both makes a statement and asserts an enduring identification with that statement,¹²⁵ the speaker affirms a special commitment to Neoptolemus. His heart expresses a strong emotional attachment (κέαρ, 102; cf. I. 5.19–20). This is a rhetorical stance, but one grounded in reality. If the speaker is an Aeginetan, then he affirms a special attachment to his ancestor. If the speaker is Pindar, as I think that it is, then he affirms his own special commitment. Aegina commissioned more surviving Pindaric works than any other community. There was a bond of shared ancestry between Thebes and Aegina, as Pindar stresses.¹²⁶

Nemean 7 dwells on the commemorative purpose of its genre: to be a truthful and enduring record of accomplishments (11–22, 31–2, 61–74). One might suppose that if Pindar had composed the opaque, topical, pettifogging song which some have thought that he did, then the discerning citizens of 'song-loving' (φιλόμολπον, 9) Aegina would have been understandably displeased with him—not for an insulting paeon but for a bad epinician. One of the few secure historical facts about Pindar of Thebes is that he was very good at his job. It is hard to believe that this poet, who elsewhere displays a remarkably extensive familiarity with various local traditions, would commit a faux pas with the community which commissioned more of his surviving works than any other in *Paeon* 6, a poem probably performed and

¹²³ Cf. P. 1.41–5, Aesch. *Supp.* 1014–15, Theoc. 17.136–7.

¹²⁴ Cf. Lefkowitz (1991) 142. A variety of media depicted Neoptolemus negatively, but epic is most important to *Nemean* 7 (cf. 20–7). In the *Little Iliad* Neoptolemus kills Astyanax (fr. 29 *GEF*) on his own initiative (fr. 18) and kills Priam at the door to his house (fr. 25). In the *Sack of Ilion* he kills Priam at Zeus' altar (arg. 2). Visual arts attest to a widespread perception of nastiness from early on (Neils (1994)).

¹²⁵ Cf. φασὶ καὶ φάσω (B. 1.159), Pelliccia (1995) 328–9, Pfeijffer (1999b) 47–8, 51–2. τρὶς τετράκι τ' (N. 7.104) implies potential repetition.

¹²⁶ Cf. I. 8.16–20, B. 9.53–5, Hdt. 5.79–81, Fearn (2007) 88–95, Indergaard (2011) 303–6.

hence commissioned by that community, as will be argued presently. Pindar can depict heroes connected to the victor in a negative light.¹²⁷ Aeginetan patrons probably commissioned Pindar after *Nemean* 7.¹²⁸ If Pindar does touch on the Aeginetans' reaction to his paeon in *Nemean* 7, he assumes, on most readings, an insulting stance toward them. This is antithetical to all that we know about epinician. The usual 'historicist' reading of this ode is historically implausible.

In order to address the apology thesis adequately we must consider not only *Nemean* 7 but also the poem to which this epinician has been thought to allude. The final triad of *Paeon* 6, which is dedicated to the praise of Aegina, has long constituted a serious obstacle to the apology thesis: could the Aeginetans have been offended by a poem containing such a high tribute to their homeland? Rutherford (1997a) and D'Alessio (1997) added a fascinating and important new layer to an old debate: the final triad of the paeon was also transmitted independently among Pindar's prosodia. This curious datum has sometimes been taken as evidence for the apology thesis. The final triad, however, is unlikely to have been added later or to have constituted an originally separate composition, as some have argued.¹²⁹

Although the marginal signs beside the final triad of *Paeon* 6 strongly suggest that this was marked off for the ancient reader as a separate poem on the papyrus (Prodi (2013) 229–30), the final triad is in fact an integral and organic part of the whole composition, as Horace, a 'hardly contemptible student of Pindar' (Young (1987) 156), evidently took it to be. If a commonly posited intertextual connection is valid,¹³⁰ Horace would provide our sole evidence for someone reading *Paeon* 6 as a continuous unity before 1908. He thus undermines the best positive evidence for division.

¹²⁷ O. 2.38–42, 7.27–31, 13.91, N. 5.14–17. The last two passages are 'hushed' so as to bring more, not less, attention to omitted unpleasantness.

¹²⁸ *Pythian* 8, for an Aeginetan, is Pindar's latest dateable poem. The date of *Nemean* 7 is uncertain, despite numerous modern studies of the issue, which convince one of nothing so much as the difficulty of the enterprise. It is not clear how Alexandrian scholars would have known *Paeon* 6 to be later. The apology thesis might well be chronologically impossible.

¹²⁹ Farnell (1930–2) i.313, ii.408, Rutherford (1997a) 13–19, (2001a) 330, 337, Furley and Bremer (2001) i.106, F. Ferrari (1999), Prodi (2013) 344.

¹³⁰ See Pasquali (1920) 752–5, Fraenkel (1957) 401, Barchiesi (1996) 8–9, and Foster (2017) on Horace's engagement with Pindar's *Pae.* 6 in *Carm.* 4.6, an ode once (wrongly) thought to be two poems. Pindar's work 'provides a model for [Horace's] abrupt transition in the second part of the poem' (R. F. Thomas (2011) 163).

There are also several internal reasons to suppose a single poem. Most obviously, the final triad has the same metre as *Paeon* 6. Furthermore, there seem to be thematic and verbal linkages between this triad and the rest of the composition.¹³¹ More decisively, the opening lines of the final triad label what follows as a continuation, not a beginning (121–31; I print my own text):

<ἰη>ἰῆτε νῦν, μέτρα παιηό-
 ν]ων ἰῆτε, νέοι.
 ὀνομακλύτα γάρ ἔσσι Δωριεῖ
 μ[ε]δέοισα [πό]ντωι
 νᾶκος, [ῶ] Διὸς Ἑλ-
 λανίου φαεννὸν ἄστρον.
 οὔνεκεν οὗτε παίωνων
 ἄδορπον εὐνάξομεν, ἀλλ' αἰοιδᾶν
 ῥόθια δεκομένα κατερεῖς,
 πόθεν ἔλαβες ναυπρύτανιν
 δαίμονα καὶ τὰν θεμίζενον ἀρετ[άν].

Cry iē, iē now, cry iē in the measures of paeans, young men. For you are an island of famous name ruling over the Dorian sea, o radiant star of Zeus Hellanius. Therefore, we will not put you to bed without a dinner of paeans; rather, as you receive waves of song you will tell from whence you received your ship-ruling destiny and that excellence of treating foreigners justly.

A first-hand inspection of the papyrus with a microscope has convinced me that the true reading in line 123 is γάρ ἔσσι, as read by Rutherford and partially preserved in the Homeric scholia,¹³² and not γ' ἔνεσσι, as printed by previous editors. This produces superior sense. γ(ε) would lack obvious point; γάρ, as often, justifies a preceding imperative.¹³³ The generic label παίωνων (127), picking up παιηό]νων (121–2), strengthens the connection. To put it mildly, γάρ would be surprising in the first sentence of an archaic poem (Spelman (2014a) 60).

¹³¹ See Currie (2005) 325 with references.

¹³² Σ Hom. 22.51e Erbse: ὀνομακλύτα γάρ ἔστι (ἔσσι Radt).

¹³³ E.g. O. 10.3, 14.17, P. 4.14. γάρ (Pae. 6.123) probably does not look forward to οὔνεκεν (127). There would be no solid Pindaric parallel. At P. 9.90 γάρ looks back to a prayer: Race (1990) 83, Hummel (1993) 406, D'Alessio (1994a) 131–2. On the imperatives at Pae. 6.121–2 see F. Ferrari (2000b) 314 and Henry (2003) 7, whose reading I accept. Elsewhere the paeon cry introduces a shift in topic, as it does in our passage: Pae. 1.5, 2.70.

The diction of οὐ κε παυήσων | ἄδορπον ἐννάξομεν (127–8) also marks what follows as a continuation. The verb connotes closure and implies that this paean is reaching its end, as it is.¹³⁴ Pindar's choice of words lacks point unless the speaker is continuing and not beginning. The speaker will 'put Aegina to bed' and end this poem only after providing her with a feast of praise.¹³⁵ I doubt that Pindar would begin a composition with 'we will not put you to bed.'

ἄδορπον (128) implies that the final triad of *Paean* 6 was composed for the same performance occasion as the rest of the poem.¹³⁶ Pindar often likens poetry to liquids; an unusual comparison of poetry to a meal probably reflects some unusual motivation.¹³⁷ The adjective draws on the performance occasion of *Paean* 6, the Delphic *theoxenia*, 'a festival which centred on a meal believed to be shared by the gods' (Rutherford (2001a) 310). Pindar metaphorically includes the nymph Aegina in this feast as he includes her in its accompanying poem.¹³⁸ This hypothesis best explains the rich 'feast' of his figurative language.

We do not know the story behind the curious double transmission of the last triad of *Paean* 6. It is conceivable that ancient scholarship manufactured the idea of an independent composition to suit the apology hypothesis, but this would do nothing to explain the different colometry preserved in the book of prosodia.¹³⁹ It seems more attractive to hypothesize that the last triad was in fact later performed (perhaps with adaptations) as an independent composition

¹³⁴ Cf. αἰοιδᾶν | δάψαν ἀκειόμενον (P. 9.103–4). Contrast ἐγείρω used to begin a theme: O. 9.47, P. 9.104, N. 10.21, I. 8.3.

¹³⁵ N. 7.70–6 displays a similar rhetoric of continuation. Cf. οὐ λήξω... ὑμνέων (Hymn. Hom. 3.177–8) with Miller (1979) 183.

¹³⁶ One could imagine that the third triad was only subsequently added and then performed with the first two at another *theoxenia*. Economy does not recommend this hypothesis. If the Aeginetans disliked the portrayal of Neoptolemus in this poem, would they have had it performed again?

¹³⁷ Cf. Radt (1958) 175–6; but note P. 2.54–6, N. 8.21, fr. 86a, 124a–b.

¹³⁸ Contrast Hoekstra (1962) 5, Nünlist (1998) 194. Wüst (1967) 135 sees a connection to a marriage feast. But Zeus and Aegina hardly had a formal marriage (ἀγρεύματο, 136). There is no strong reason to imagine performance before nightfall (pace Radt (1958) 176).

¹³⁹ Cf. Prauscello (2006) 83 n. 260. It is unclear what criteria made a poem suitable for inclusion among Pindar's prosodia in the Alexandrian edition (see Prodi (2013) 95–116). Perhaps this designation served as a catch-all for cultic poems not clearly belonging to other categories (Rutherford (2003)).

in connection with the worship of Aeacus on Aegina.¹⁴⁰ So far from being offended by Pindar's work, then, the Aeginetans may have liked it well enough to bring part of it home.

Scholars debate whether a Delphian or an Aeginetan chorus performed *Paean* 6.¹⁴¹ The final triad provides the most potentially decisive evidence for this important question. If these lines are an integral part of the whole composition first performed at the same ritual occasion, as I have argued that they are, an Aeginetan chorus performing a song commissioned by Aeginetans is the simplest and best explanation for Aeginetan themes in a poem first performed at Delphi. *κατερεῖς* (*Paean* 6.129, of Aegina) makes excellent sense in the mouth of Aeginetan performers; I find it difficult to explain satisfactorily otherwise. It would follow from these arguments that the marginal title before *Paean* 6, 'for the Delphians in honour of Pytho' (*Δελφοῖς εἰς Πυθῶν*), is simply wrong or at least a serious oversimplification.¹⁴² If the Aeginetans actually found this work objectionable in its treatment of Neoptolemus, one might well think that it would have been pulled in rehearsal if not before. The final triad of the poem thus constitutes strong evidence against, not evidence for, the apology thesis.

We have lingered on one of the most intricate controversies in Pindaric scholarship. This discussion has sought to vindicate a broad principle by applying it to a single difficult test case. The principle is this: when puzzled by Pindar's train of thought, we should work towards an understanding using knowledge that would have been available to his contemporary secondary audiences. As *Nemean* 7 advertises, his odes were constructed to be intelligible not only those who heard them in their debut occasions but also 'someone' in time to come.¹⁴³ We should try to take on the perspective of an

¹⁴⁰ Cf. fr. 52p, D'Alessio (1997) 34–5, Kurke (2005) 121–3.

¹⁴¹ Aeginetan chorus: Wüst (1967) 134, D'Alessio (1994a) 137 n. 68, Burnett (1998) 504, Currie (2005) 323–5; contrast Radt (1958) 89, Hoekstra (1962) 6, Gentili (1979) 9, Pavese (1993) 423. As far as I can see, nothing requires the more complex hypothesis of a mixed chorus, an idea developed most fully in Kurke (2005).

¹⁴² On papyrus titles see Prodi (2016). The title of *Paean* 6 will derive from a reading of the poem and perhaps in particular from a (mis)interpretation of *ἐτραίς*... *τεοῖσιν* (10–11).

¹⁴³ *μαθὼν*... *τις* (N. 7.68) could be taken either absolutely to mean 'an expert' (cf. O. 2.86) or with some implied object. Either reading attributes to secondary audiences the knowledge necessary to understand and judge the poem. The inability of interpreters to agree on the implied object might be taken as a consideration in

expert secondary audience removed from the first performance of his poems. The remains of fifth-century lyric make it easier to assume such a view than to recover the view of those who first heard *Nemean* 7 on the song-loving island of the Aeacidae.

favour of the former reading. See further Carey (1981) 164, Most (1985a) 190, Loscalzo (2000) 189, Currie (2005) 316.

V

Genre and Tradition

So far we have been primarily concerned with Pindar and the life of his epinicians in archaic Greek literary culture. This chapter broadens the scope of inquiry to consider Pindar's other genres and also earlier archaic lyric. First, it turns to Pindar's fragmentary cultic poetry to see what can be determined about the representations and realities of secondary reception as they relate to genre. The conclusion emerges that, though the rhetoric of permanence is less common outside epinician, Pindar's other genres also aimed to engage audiences beyond their first performance. Next, this chapter turns to earlier lyric to investigate how Pindar's orientation towards a layered public relates to the lyric tradition from which he emerges. It is argued that, while fifth-century professional poets celebrate their afterlife with exceptional brio, earlier lyric poets also associated wide and lasting dissemination with poetic excellence.

In some ways this chapter constitutes an attempt to extend arguments from the previous chapters into new areas where the corpus of surviving primary evidence is far less extensive. I try to show that some strategies of interpretation which I have applied to Pindar's epinicians may also be legitimately and fruitfully applied to certain other texts.

1. GENRE

This section focuses on Pindar's works most closely linked to cult practices.¹ Attached to particular forms of worship cultivated by

¹ I use 'cultic poetry' as an admittedly inadequate term of convenience. The 'embedded' nature of Greek religion (R. Parker (1986) 265) vitiates any absolute distinction between religious and secular. Cf. Pörtulas (2012). We should conceive of 'cultic poetry' as a spectrum. I am here concerned with one end of that spectrum.

various communities, such poetry might seem, among all archaic lyric and among all Pindar's work, least intrinsically likely to appeal to secondary audiences unconnected to its original performance settings. This section argues, contrary to what is sometimes supposed or implied,² that Pindar's cultic lyric, like his epinicians, addresses a layered audience including those at its first performance and an indefinite public reaching through space and time.³

Pindar's cultic poems certainly did in fact interest and reach a broad public in antiquity. The earliest traceable reception of his poetry does not clearly privilege the epinicians above other genres.⁴ Tastes may differ, but I do not find the artistry of Pindar's religious poetry any less 'accomplished' than that of his epinicians (contrast Rutherford (2001a) vii). We have some reason to think that ancient audiences did not, either.

The texts themselves show strong signs of anticipating widespread reception. *Isthmian* 1, performed in Thebes, refers to *Paeon* 4, performed on Ceos (or perhaps Delos); Pindar evidently anticipated that some would encounter both works (see chapter I). Indeed, *Paeon* 4 implicitly includes itself among poetry that bolsters the reputation of Ceos throughout the Greek world (21–4):

ἦτοι καὶ ἐγὼ σ[κόπ]ελον ναίων δια-
γινώσκομαι μὲν ἀρεταῖς ἀέθλων
Ἑλλανίειν, γινώσκ[ο]μα[ι] δὲ καὶ
μοῖσαν παρέχων ἄλις.

... truly, I too, who live on a rock, am distinguished for achievements in the Greek games, and I am also distinguished for providing a lot of poetry.

As Ceos excels in athletic competitions that involve all Greeks and is well known among them for its accomplishments, so too its reputation for poetry reaches far and wide. In this very poem Ceos is

Pleasing a divine audience is a characteristic concern: Alc. 1.87–8, *Hymn. Hom.* 3.149–50, Pind. fr. 75.6, B. 17.130–3, Race (1982) 8–10. The *charis* of song 'is seen as a means of obtaining divine *charis* ... by reciprocal exchange' (Furley (2011) 223).

² For Stehle (1997) 22 n. 71, 'epinician poetry is special' because 'it addresses both the victor's community and an interstate network of aristocratic families'. Kurke (2007) 65 refers to fr. 94b as 'recognizably epichoric (in contrast to the more Panhellenic epinicia)'. Kowalzig (2007) 4 describes religious choral poetry as 'strictly linked to the communities for which it was composed' (but note page 58).

³ Cf. Hubbard (2011), whose arguments differ from mine.

⁴ Cf. Irigoin (1952) 11–20, Pelliccia (2009) 248. Note Timaeus *BNJ* 566 F 32.

continuing to provide poetry to the Greek world by commissioning from Pindar a poem that will reach a broad Hellenic audience.⁵ There is a marked contrast between the modest natural endowments of the speaker's native land, discussed in the preceding and following lines, and the broad, supra-local reach of its achievements. Some other cultic poems, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, likewise look forward to their own afterlife.

Other forms of evidence point in the same direction. If Pindar knew and reacted to older poetry connected to rituals in various communities, as it seems that he did, then it would not be unreasonable for him to hope that his own cultic works might endure and spread.⁶

Commissions for a variety of far-flung religious performance settings accounted for no small part of Pindar's total output and the Alexandrian edition of his work. Such poetry is essential to the shape of his professional career and must have acquired a widespread reputation from early on (cf. *αοίδιμον Πιερίδων προφάταν*, *Pae.* 6.6, 6.181–3 as in Rutherford (2001a) 302). In commissioning *Paean* 2 from Pindar, Abderites presumably ordered a new instantiation of a known product which had already reached as far as Thrace during the poet's lifetime. *Paean* 2, performed in the self-consciously peripheral Abdera (24–6), sets itself alongside famous choruses in honour of the god at the two chief centres of Apollo's worship, Delos and Delphi (96–102). By assimilating this work to these well-known paragons of cultic poetry, the speaker implies a claim to widespread attention. Abdera puts itself on the map through Pindar's poem.⁷

In discussing Pindaric cultic poetry one should remember the 'Pindaric' as well as the 'cultic' part. The possibility of subsequent reception was perhaps no small part of the justification for hiring Pindar of Thebes to create a new composition rather than performing

⁵ Cassio (1972) takes this passage to mean that Ceos provides material for poets to praise. But that sense would require a dative denoting poets; cf. Carey (1991) 15, Henry (2005) 61.

⁶ Alcman's *partheneia*, which, to judge from the best-preserved specimens, were integrally connected to cult, probably influenced Pindar. Pindar reacts to the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, which explicitly situates itself within Apollo's worship on Delos. Both connections are discussed in this section.

⁷ Cf. Eur. *HF* 687–95, Rutherford (2001a) 273–4, Power (2011) 105. The fragmentary *Pind. Pae.* 2.102–3 might have emphasized literary quality and/or looked forward to the afterlife of this particular poem.

a traditional song or the work of a strictly local poet. Pindar's cultic poems, like his epinicians (VII), must be understood against the vanished background of widespread social and poetic practices. A well-known fact bears repeating: 'extant pieces of cult song are tantalizingly few compared to the extent of choral activity that must actually have taken place' (Kowalzig (2007) 6; cf. Wilamowitz (1921) 242). The *χορός* was an element so essential and characteristic that, in a Greek mouth, the question *τί δέῃ με χορεύειν*; ["why should I dance?", Soph. *OT* 896] would import, "why maintain the solemn rites of public worship?", as Jebb (1893) 169 writes—a sound observation about Greek culture if a debateable interpretation of Sophocles. This essential form of worship has left a paltry textual trace which is not straightforwardly representative of the whole. Religious songs could be associated with a composer, but in the archaic period authorship was not necessarily central to traditional compositions.⁸ Literary merit seems relatively unimportant to some anonymous cultic poems. Wilamowitz (1886) 84 n. 59 memorably overstates the point: 'Poetischen Wert braucht das Kultlied nicht.'⁹ Some later pieces of cultic lyric that have happened to survive are manifestly different from Pindar's cultic compositions. Few among discerning audiences could mistake the author of the Ereuthrian Paeon (p. 136 CA) for Pindar. It would be misguided to assume that Pindar's intricate, monumental, wide-ranging *Paeon* 6 related to cultic practice in the same way as did the incantatory *Hymnus Curetum* (p. 160–1 CA). Perhaps in the fifth century some ritual songs were already valued as embodiments of cultic continuity and perpetuated precisely because of their traditionality, as Herodotus' description of Olen's hymns suggests.¹⁰ Pindar's new cultic poems must have made their appeal to their various audiences on other grounds.

The remnants of Pindar's cultic poetry suggest how it could have appealed to secondary audiences—as it in fact did. Familiar concerns here pose themselves in somewhat different ways. Some arguments from previous chapters about the ability of Pindar's epinicians to communicate with and capture the attention of secondary audiences

⁸ Wilamowitz (1900) 38 n. 3, Norden (1939) 274–5: 'erst in einer literarisch interessierten Zeit kommen gelegentlich Namen zum Vorschein, aber Anonymität blieb für kultische Gemeindepoesie doch die Regel.'

⁹ Cf. J. M. Bremer (1998) 520, Feeney (1998) 41–2.

¹⁰ Hdt. 4.35.3: οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ὑλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιούς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ἐκ Λυκίης ἐλλὼν τοὺς ἀειδομένους ἐν Δήλῳ; cf. Tynnichus 707 PMG.

also apply here; some special considerations require special analysis. This section first discusses why cultic poetry might have engaged audiences beyond its premiere performance and then examines a few passages that describe their own subsequent reception.

A. Occasions and audiences in cultic poetry

How did Pindar's cultic poetry relate to its original performance occasion and subsequent audiences? The fragmentary nature of the evidence, it is hoped, will excuse the somewhat impressionistic and speculative quality of the following remarks.

In comparison with epinician, Pindar's cultic poetry was both more and less tied to a singular occasion: it is linked to a particular cultic practice more unique than the largely typologized victory revel, but that cultic event is iterable. Unlike epinicians celebrating a singular historical event, religious poetry had an enduring built-in performance scenario within the worship sustained at the site of its debut performance.¹¹ Pindar often describes cultic performance traditions as repeating, continuous phenomena.¹² Some of his cultic poetry describes its traditional background in such a way so as to suggest its own possible afterlife as part of a continuing social practice.¹³ Several of Pindar's most substantially preserved cultic poems describe their ritual setting to a considerable extent but seem to omit references to unique historical events and particular individuals which would have tied his song closely to one unrepeatable iteration of that ritual (e.g. *Paean* 6). This selective lack of specificity might be

¹¹ Cf. Rutherford (2001a) 176 and, more generally, Depew (2000). For Near-Eastern *comparanda* see Metcalf (2015) 7, 143–6. Audiences on Delos will have conceived of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* as a reperformance of a hymn once performed long ago by Homer (Spelman (2018a)).

¹² *πολλάκις* (P. 2.15), *θαμά* (3.78), *θαμά* (Pae. 2.98), *θαμινά* (6.16). *ταρφέως* (B. 13.86) might be similar (Power (2000) 81; but note *Od.* 8.379). Timeless presents of cultic poetry: P. 2.15, 3.78, N. 5.38, 11.7, I. 5.27, fr. 6a(k), Pae. 2.96, 6.18, fr. 75.18–19, B. 13.94, fr. 4.57. *κελάδῃσαν* (B. 16.12) is a timeless aorist. It is not clear if in a given passage Pindar refers to reperformances of works or a series of different works. One need not assume uniformity. I. 5.26–9 suggests not enduring poems but rather enduring themes refreshed by new poets (like Pindar): cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1428–30, Alc. 445–52, Theoc. 15.96–8 but also Sosibius *FGrH* 595 F 5.

¹³ Cf. Pind. fr. 52m.4–8 with Rutherford (2013) 240, 75.18–19, 140a.59–62, B. fr. 4.50–7. Later sources report special honours for Pindar at Delphi (see Radt (1958) 116 n. 1).

interpreted as a rhetorical strategy designed to enable repetition through time. As Metcalf (2016) 21 writes of Mesopotamian poetry, 'hymns are designed not to go out of date.' Pindar fr. 52p, a *prosodion* for Aeacus, locates its performance 'on this joyful day' (*Τῶιδ' ἐν ἅματι τερπνῶι*, 1), but this day will have returned time and again in the yearly calendar and in the continued traditions of Aeginetan cult (cf. *ἔρχεται δ' ἐνιαυτῶι*, fr. 52p.9; *νῦν ὁ παντελής Ἐνιαυτός*, *Pae.* 1.5). Pindar's dithyramb for Athens could have been sung again each time the gates of spring opened and choruses worshipped Semele (fr. 75.14–15, 19). Probably some among those who commissioned Pindar's cultic poems did not perform them only once but repeated them as they repeated the traditional rite to which these works were connected.

Ritual is an essentially iterative phenomenon; ritual poetry, however, can be closely linked with one particular iteration. *Paeon* 9 is a striking example: the speaker reacts to a highly unusual event, a recent solar eclipse. *Paeon* 2 looks forward to a singular, unrepeatable 'final war' (105–6). Praise of particular contemporary individuals is integral to *Partheneion* 2 (6–11, 31–49). As in epinician, so too in cultic poetry a sense of immediacy can be cultivated as a rhetorical strategy. *Paeon* 9 will have taken some time to compose and execute, but Pindar conveys the arresting impression that the solar eclipse is still taking place.¹⁴ A vivid link between the poem and its extraordinary motivating event seems to have augmented, not reduced, the appeal of this paean for later audiences, who knew that the eclipse of 463 had not in fact, as the Pindaric speaker fears (19–20), harbingered the impending end of the present human race. Sophocles' *Antigone* (100–9) makes a relatively complex and detailed allusion to this piece,¹⁵ which must have been known to at least some among the Athenian playwright's audience. Like his epinicians, Pindar's cultic poetry can present itself both as an unrepeatable event and as an enduring artefact. Like his epinicians, it seems genuinely to have been both and to have been conceived of as both from early on.

Unlike epinicians debuting in the victor's home city, some cultic poems debuted before a Panhellenic audience at Panhellenic occasions. The song of the Charmers, mythical Muse-like beings who once

¹⁴ Note tenses: *μήσεαι* (*Pae.* 9.1); *κλεπτόμενον* (3); *ἐλαύνεις* (6). Compare pseudo-spontaneous reactions to weather in earlier lyric (Archil. 105, Alc. 338).

¹⁵ See M. Griffith (1999) 143, Bagordo (2003) 201–2, Swift (2010) 29–30.

sang on top of an older Delphic temple, serves as an inset analogue for Pindar's *Paean* 8, first performed at Delphi near a successor temple. Both wondrous songs arrest various visitors to the sanctuary, no matter where they come from (ξένοι, 76).¹⁶ Works first performed at Panhellenic sanctuaries could have transmitted information about a particular community to a diverse premiere audience. *Paean* 6 highlights the importance of its Delphic ritual (62–4) and its Trojan myth to the Greek world generally. Simultaneous engagement with Delphic and Aeginetan themes in *Paean* 6 shows that particular communities were in close contact with and involved in rites performed at Panhellenic sanctuaries. Indeed, the final triad was perhaps subsequently performed as an independent work on Aegina. Theoretic choruses performing at the great sites of worship will have enabled ongoing dialogue between local and Panhellenic rituals.¹⁷ Some of Pindar's cultic poetry was in its first performance already embedded in social and poetic practices that involved different communities. This orientation towards a diverse initial audience may have aided the widespread afterlife of such poetry.

Would Pindar's religious works have been intelligible and compelling to audiences removed from their ritual settings? Some cultic poems trace the origins of the practices which they celebrate,¹⁸ perhaps in part to inform the uninformed, potentially including distant secondary audiences. Fr. 52o will make 'someone living far off' (35–6) think of the rite that it accompanies (III.4). Though explaining origins is a characteristic concern of ritual poems, some aspects of their occasional context would have perhaps remained opaque for secondary audiences. Here one needs to remember why a fifth-century Greek might have been interested in poetry connected to a particular rite belonging to another community. As with his epinicians, the broad appeal of Pindar's cultic poetry outside its original setting must have depended in large part on its perceived aesthetic value. Fr. 52o makes this important point quite explicitly, but all of Pindar's religious poetry highlights its charm. If we suppose that some in the fifth-century Greek world could be interested in a lyric poem because of its aesthetic value rather than because of its subject matter or a pragmatic connection to the circumstances of

¹⁶ Cf. *θέλγουσι δὲ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων* (*Hymn. Hom.* 3.161), of the Deliades.

¹⁷ On theoretic choruses see Rutherford (2013) ch. 14.

¹⁸ Cf. Pind. fr. 51a–b, *Pae.* 6.58–65, 7.12–18, 7b.42–52, 8.62–80, 9.41–9.

its performance or content, then it is not clear why one should hypothesize any strong distinction between the reception of Pindar's epinicians and his other genres. Pindar says that any subject can attain literary permanence if it is expressed well: *τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἔρπει* | *εἴ τις εἶ εἴπηι τι*, 'for that thing goes forth with immortal voice if someone says something well' (I. 4.40–1).

On the whole, Pindar's cultic poems do not, as far as we can tell, require a great deal of knowledge of their specific religious contexts in order to be enjoyed as poetry. Scholars debate the precise nature of the ritual behind the second *Partheneion* (fr. 94b),¹⁹ fifth-century secondary audiences equipped with a complete text may not have been significantly better informed. But this poem can still be enjoyed for its complex art, which it explicitly advertises (76–8), even if one does not apprehend the precise ritual significance of the *κωπώ* which Pindar evidently describes being carried in a procession (69; see S-M's introductory apparatus to the fragment). A similar argument may be applied to Alcman 1, an instance of an earlier form of cultic poetry that Pindar draws on in his second *Partheneion*:²⁰ in order to appreciate Alcman's maiden song, one need not know if the *φαρος* (61; *sic*) carried as a dedication by the maidens is a plough or, as is more probable, a robe.²¹ Pindar's cultic works are not simply transcripts of rituals and were probably not approached as such by fifth-century secondary audiences. Reading them in this way might turn out to mislead us.²² In Pindar's religious songs one finds only scattered and passing mention of sacrifices and libations; these poems are significantly more concerned with poetry itself as a different but complementary

¹⁹ On the ritual behind the second *Partheneion* see, most recently, Olivieri (2011) 171–86.

²⁰ Bowra (1964) 363, Herington (1985) 26, Hutchinson (2001) 367, Carey (2011) 445.

²¹ See Priestly (2007).

²² The opening of *Paean* 2, for instance, is sometimes taken to indicate processional performance (e.g. Dougherty (1994a) 215). Nothing prevents this poem (or any other) from being so performed, but nothing requires this hypothesis. *δι' ὧξω* (*Pae.* 2.4) exemplifies the voluntative future of openings and connotes beginning: 'set in motion (i.e. begin) a paean' (cf. Radt (1958) 26–7, Bona (1988) 33, Lefkowitz (1991) 13 n. 12). This probably proposes not a real processional itinerary but rather an itinerary of song. Neer and Kurke (2014) take Pind. fr. 75 to map out a processional itinerary, but this is probably another example of the itinerary of song (so van der Weiden (1991) 194–7, citing examples). Saying that the speaker moves from Zeus is intelligible as a way of saying that the song moves from Zeus (*pace* Neer and Kurke (2014) 564; cf. e.g. O. 6.24–5, B. 19.12–13).

form of dedication.²³ Unlike a sacrifice or a libation, this sort of gift to the gods can endure and travel.

How much would we learn about one of Pindar's cultic poems if we were to learn a great deal about its original occasion? Horace's *Carmen saeculare* provides material for a thought experiment. Unique among its author's output, this ode was performed by a chorus and accompanied a public religious rite, like the archaic cultic lyric that it programmatically evokes.²⁴ 'About these celebrations we are uncommonly well informed' (Fraenkel (1957) 365). The discovery in 1890 of an inscription adding to our knowledge of Horace's cultic occasion, the *Ludi Saeculares*, might have been expected to enrich dramatically the understanding of his poem. The inscription clarifies the address to the Capitoline deities at line 37, but, to the disappointment of Mommsen, its first editor, also evinced Horace's robust independence from the ceremonial programme. 'So far from forming a part of [the ceremonies], the *carmen* is deliberately placed outside of them' (Fraenkel (1957) 378; cf. R. F. Thomas (2011) 58). The *Carmen saeculare* was designed to live beyond its debut performance and to be experienced alongside Horace's other lyric works. In this poem 'Horace is celebrating and preserving a particular moment of sacred time' (Feeney (1998) 37). Pindar may well have been doing something similar in his own cultic poetry.

We should not assume that the occasions behind Pindar's cultic poems hold the key to their meaning any more than the *Ludi Saeculares* provide a skeleton key to the *Carmen saeculare*. Indeed, these works, like Horace's ode, could transcend their initial setting and, as the next section demonstrates, sometimes explicitly discuss their ability to do so.

B. Permanence outside epinician

The perception that Pindar's epinicians are more 'pan-Hellenic' than his cultic poetry likely derives in part from the fact that Pindar's cultic

²³ Sacrifice/libation: *Pae.* 6.63, fr. 52m.5–8, fr. 52p.8–9, 59.11–12, 70a.11, 75.4; poetry as offering: *Pae.* 2.3–4, 5.44–8, 6.1–18, 58–61, 127–9, 181–3, 7.9–11, 7b.10–22, 9.33–40, 12.4–5, fr. 52s.1–5, 70a.14–15, 70b.1–26, 86a.

²⁴ Barchiesi (2002) 108. *tempore sacro* (Hor. *Carm. saec.* 4) alludes to ἐν ζαθέωι... χρόνῳ (Pind. *Pae.* 6.5); so Kiessling and Heinze (1917) 486. On the afterlife of the *Carmen saeculare* see Hor. *Carm.* 4.6.31–44, Bitto (2012).

poems do not advertise their dissemination and durability to the same degree as his epinicians do. From this one cannot legitimately infer that Pindar's cultic poetry was parochial in its orientation towards its audiences. The rhetoric of permanence is not a transparent indication of intended public; it is implicated in configurations of speaker, addressee, and occasion that are deeply related to the idea of genre. Predictions of poetic immortality, so frequent in Pindar's epinicians, are generally advanced by a speaker closely identified with the celebrated professional poet Pindar of Thebes (VII.4). The voice of the author *qua* author is, as far as we can tell, less prominent in cultic lyric, which sometimes speaks on behalf of and through a community. The corporate choral enunciator of cultic lyric can be characterized as performer and citizen to an extent generally foreign to epinician as a whole.²⁵ Cultic poetry also has a different internal audience. In epinician poetic immortality constitutes a reward and consolation for exceptional mortal honorands. The distinctive addressees of cultic poetry are ontological immortals for whom poetic immortality is, understandably, rather less urgent. Deities are concerned with the aesthetic merits of a poem, an *ἄγαλμα* dedicated like any other, but they are not generally depicted as concerned with the reception of a poem among mankind. Among the fragmentary genres of Pindar and Bacchylides, the rhetoric of permanence is disproportionately common in encomia.²⁶ It seems that in this genre, as in epinician, a speaker strongly associated with the historical composer addresses and praises another exceptional mortal.

There are nonetheless among the remnants of Pindar's cultic poetry several passages which envision an enduring afterlife.²⁷ Fr. 52o and

²⁵ Lefkowitz (1991) 11–4, 25–30 distinguishes the choral voice of religious poetry from the poetic voice of epinician (cf. Lefkowitz (1995)). This dichotomy has been challenged from a variety of angles: D'Alessio (1994a), Lavecchia (2000a) 169–70, Kurke (2005) 86–90, Currie (2013). It is worth remembering that the congruities of self-presentation between the poetic and choral voice in Pindar are stronger than the discrepancies. Alc. 1.85–7, Pind. *Pae.* 4.21–4, and fr. 94b.31–41 play with the gap and congruity between composer and enunciator. Archaic audiences could of course differentiate between the two (*P.* 10.55–6). I think that the speaking voice does draw on the identity of Pindar of Thebes in his cultic poetry (*Pae.* 6.6, 7b.15–22, fr. 52s.3, 70b.23–5), but I will not insist on the point here.

²⁶ Pind. fr. 121, B. fr. 20b.3–4. The sample size is admittedly miniscule. Compare the remains of Pindar's threnodies which sometimes revolve around more eschatological forms of immortality: fr. 129, 131a–b, 133, 137, Cannatà Fera (1990) 30.

²⁷ Contrast Pavlou (2011) 74 n. 55, who writes that references to future reception 'are omitted in the cult songs'.

Paean 4 have already been discussed. *Paean* 7a evidently ended by glancing toward its future reception, a common closing theme.²⁸ The female choral narrator of a *partheneion* proudly compares her small, precious work to the enormous sea, which may represent inferior poetry: *μη νῦν νέκταρ*[ρ] *νας ἐμᾶς* | *διψῶντ' α*[.] *παρ' ἄλμυρόν* | *οἷχεσθον*, 'do not, you two, thirsting . . . nectar . . . of my . . . go to the salty [sea]' (fr. 94b.76–8). In this competitive metapoetic context, nectar probably connotes immortality. The mortal addressees 'thirst' for song perhaps because they long for commemoration.²⁹

The relatively well-preserved *Paean* 7b and *Dithyramb* 2 provide more extensive evidence for the rhetoric of permanence in cultic poetry. In both a speaker with close affinities to the historical composer, the celebrated poet Pindar of Thebes, addresses a mortal audience and engages in an agonistic justification of a privileged place in a poetic canon and in a contemporary literary landscape.

I. *Paean* 7b

This poem debuted in the Panhellenic sanctuary of Apollo on Delos. It moves into its narrative through an explicit comparison with Homeric precedent (10–22; text after Rutherford (2001a) 243–4):

κελαδήσῃθ' ὕμνους,
 Ὀμήρου [τρι]πτόν κατ' ἀμαξιτόν
 ἰόντες, ἀ[ἀλ]λοτρίαις ἀν' ἵπποις,
 ἐπεὶ αὖ[π]τανὸν ἄρμα
 Μοισα[]μεν.
 ἐ]πεύχο[μαι] δ' Οὐρανοῦ τ' ἐνπέπλωι θυγατρὶ
 Μναμ[ο]κύ[ν]αι κόραις τ' εὐ-
 μαχανίαν διδόμεν.
 τ]υφλα[ὶ γὰρ] ἀνδρῶν φρένες,
 οἷ]στις ἄνευθ' Ἑλικωνιάδων
 βαθεῖαν ε..[.].ων ἐρευνᾷ σοφίας ὁδόν.
 ἐμοὶ δ' ἐ τοῦτο[ν δ]ιέδω-
 κ.ν] ἀθάνατ[ο]ν πόνον . . .

²⁸ The speaker evidently tells the truth and hopes that his work will survive with divine help. *Κλεὸς ἔκατι* (7) will have presaged the afterlife of the poem (cf. *N.* 3.83, *B.* 13.228).

²⁹ Cf. Callim. *Hy.* 2.105–12, Poliakoff (1980) 42–3, D'Alessio (1994a) 119–20. Thirst for song: *O.* 11.1–6, *N.* 3.6–8, 76–84.

... singing songs, [not] going along Homer's trodden highway... on another's horses, since... flying chariot... Muse... I pray to Uranus' lovely-robed daughter, Mnemosyne, and to her daughters to provide capability, for blind are the minds of men, if anyone without the Heliconians... searches out the deep path of wisdom. But to me [they] have handed over this immortal toil...

A preliminary comparison with previous poetry helps to articulate the aims of this new work. Contrasting imperfect human epistemic powers with the Muses' superior knowledge, our passage alludes to the invocation before the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships, Homer's most programmatic, elaborate, and famous statement of access to the past (*Il.* 2.484–6 → *Pind. Pae.* 7b.18–20).³⁰ The Pindaric speaker lays claim to a similar authority and, as I argue, a similar universal audience as that enjoyed by Homer in Pindar's day.

The very fact that Homer is named shows that authorship is important here—even if the speaker is not simply to be identified with Pindar of Thebes. For his ancient secondary audiences, the authorship of his works delivered through a choral voice was presumably never any more in question than in his epinicians, where he is never explicitly named, although he looms large as a personality (*VII.2*). Archaic Greek listeners probably did not think that maidens actually composed Pindar and Alcman's maiden songs any more than Roman readers thought that maidens composed Catullus' wedding songs (cf. *Alcm.* 3.1–2, *Pind. fr.* 94b.31–7, *Catull.* 62.11–14).

Mention of Homer primes audiences to interpret what follows against the background of his work.³¹ The imperfectly preserved myth of *Paean* 7b, as Rutherford (1988) 65–70 persuasively argues, differs from, and is to be compared with, the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*,³² which in the archaic period was often regarded as the

³⁰ Invocations of the Muse are commonplace; contrasting the Muses' power with human weakness is not. Prominent allusions to this passage indicate its importance to archaic conceptions of Homeric poetics: *Ibyc.* S151.23–31, *Simon.* 11.16–17 W, *Pind. Pae.* 6.54–8, 7b.15–20.

³¹ D'Alessio (1992), (1995) 167–81, Rutherford (2001a) 249, and F. Ferrari (2002) argue that Pindar's poem sets itself apart from Homer; contrast Di Benedetto (1991) 173, (2003), who, however, asserts that 'il Coro intenda distinguersi da Omero' (271). Supplements remain uncertain, but a contrast with Homer seems probable. A series of later allusions to this passage supports this interpretation and shows the importance of our paean to ancient understandings of Pindaric poetics: see D'Alessio (1992) i.365, 368, (1995) 168 n. 50.

³² Cf. Rutherford (2001a) 252, Fearn (2007) 9–16.

work of Homer.³³ ἀμαξιτόν (11) and τρι]πτόν (11), if correct, look to the hymn and depict Homer's work as a classic already reiterated time and again. The Pindaric speaker's privileged relation to the divine affords him a new and superior 'road of skill' (20). A contrast between the speaker's divinely-granted flying chariot (13) and Homer's path (11) sets this poem not only above those who repeat Homer but also above Homer himself, who established a terrestrial course subsequently followed by others.

Exceptional among the Homeric hymns, the *Hymn to Apollo* explicitly identifies its performance location: Delos (146–75). The Pindaric speaker thus sets his Delian paean against another canonical poem first performed at the same centre of Apollo's worship.³⁴ Indeed, in challenging Homer's supremacy, *Paean* 7b takes up a challenge already articulated by the *Hymn to Apollo*. The speaker of that work, who identifies himself as Homer, asserts the superiority of his composition over all future works: τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν αἰοδαί, 'whose songs all remain supreme afterwards' (173). These words appeal to a proven reputation, augur the afterlife of this particular poem, and imply an ongoing competition between newer and older poems. As Burkert (2001) 112 writes, 'this is the clearest expression in epic diction of the notion of a classic, an absolute classic, that I can imagine.' Homer's canonical status, already celebrated in the *Hymn to Apollo* and reflected within Pindar's paean (11–12), serves both as a spur to competition and as a validating precedent for the younger poet's ambition for his work to transcend its original setting and enter into a literary tradition. Pindar, like Callimachus (*Hy.* 4.28–9) after him, is here self-consciously entering into a line of preserved poems for Delos.

Looking back to Homeric precedent, this paean also looks forward to its own future. In a passage so concerned with authorial competition and literary reception, τοῦτο[ν . . . ἀθάνατ]ον πόνον, 'this immortal labour' (21–2), probably describes this work as an immortal

³³ M. L. West (2011–13) i.337, Rutherford (2001a) 247, Faulkner (2011b) 177, 199–200. Those who have trodden Homer's path are, I would guess, rhapsodes who have recited his *Hymn to Apollo* time and again.

³⁴ Σ *Pae.* 7b.5 apparently mentions an assembly (πανηγυρε.); cf. the description of the assembly at *Hymn. Hom.* 3.146–76 (described as τὴν πανήγυριν at *Certamen* 18 West).

creation.³⁵ *πόνον* is the work of composition; ἀθάνατ[ο]ν predicts the successful result of that labour.³⁶ In contrast to the ineffectual struggles of those unaided by the Muses (ἐρευνᾶι, 20→*πόνον*, 22), this poem will succeed and last as Homer's hymn has succeeded and lasted. The form of the argument all but requires that in lines 21–2 the speaker's present work stands as a contrastive instantiation of poetic success following the preceding generalization about poetic failure.³⁷ The speaker prays for the facility in composition (εὐ|μαχανίαν, 16–17) and skill (σοφίαν, 20) which ensure lasting poetic reception.³⁸ Like so many epinicians, this passage looks forward to its future as part of a tradition.

II. Dithyramb 2 (fr. 70b)

Like *Paean* 7b, this poem³⁹ opens by situating itself within an immanent literary history: Pindar contrasts his new work with an earlier style of dithyramb (1–3). Engagement with tradition highlights innovation.

³⁵ Rutherford (2001a) 249 instead understands 'the labour of taking part in the festival'; cf. Alcman 7.4–5, Simon. 519 fr. 35b.6, Pind. fr. 70c.16, Eur. *Bacch.* 65–6, Lavecchia (2000a) 226–7. But ritual is not really in sight in our passage, which is more concerned with poetry. *πόνον* (*Pae.* 7b.22) need not refer to the activity of a chorus: cf. Ibyc. S221, Pind. N. 3.12, 7.74. The Muses look like the most suitable subject for the verb in lines 21–2. These goddesses did not decide matters of the Delian ritual programme but did play an important role in granting poetic permanence (e.g. *I.* 4.43–5). F. Ferrari (2002) 206–11 champions the original reading *πόρον* in line 22 against the superscribed alternative, which is usually preferred, and understands this to mean 'via degli immortali' (209). But a path makes an odd gift, even from a god. *πόρον* could have mistakenly arisen from preceding talk of roads. *πόνον* seems harder to explain as a corruption.

³⁶ Cf. Simon. 11.28 W, Pind. *I.* 4.40, fr. 121.3, B.10.11, 13.65. π|τανόν (*Pae.* 7b.13) perhaps glances at the ability of this poem to fly beyond Delos (cf. *P.* 8.34).

³⁷ σο|φία (*Pae.* 7b.19) contrasts with εὐ|μοί (21). See N. 4.39–43, *P.* 2.58–63 for similar argumentative structures.

³⁸ For *eumachania* and poetic immortality: *P.* 8.34, N. 7.22, Miller (1981) 139–40; for *sophia*: *P.* 3.113–14, N. 7.23, *I.* 7.17–19, fr. 52o.40.

³⁹ On the generic identity of the dithyramb see especially Lavecchia (2000a) 11–13, Fearn (2007) 219, D'Alessio (2013). Since I am concerned with rhetoric and cult, I leave aside poems later labelled as dithyrambs which do not explicitly connect themselves to Dionysus' worship. At least some 'dithyrambs' seem linked to cult (Pind. fr. 70a.11, 75). Fr. 70b is concerned with pleasing Dionysus (22–3) and evidently presents itself as in some sense a τελε|τάν (6); cf. fr. 346b.5, which may be from the same poem.

The nature of the opening comparison is debated,⁴⁰ but it somehow helps to prepare for a bold boast later in the poem (23–6):

ἐμὲ δ' ἐξαίρετο[ν
 κάρυκα σοφῶν ἐπέων
 Μοῖς' ἀνέστας Ἑλλάδι κα[λ]λ[ι]χόρῳι
 εὐχόμενον βρισαρμάτοις οἷ[ο] Θήβαις . . .

Me the Muse has appointed as a chosen herald of skilful verses for Hellas of wide dancing spaces, boasting for Thebes, powerful in chariots . . .

As 'herald' of a new and superior style, the speaker sets himself against antecedents evoked by the proem (*Ἰρὶν μὲν*, 1). Novelty and verbal skill (*σοφῶν ἐπέων*, 24) win the interest of a broad audience (*Ἑλλάδι*, 25). The speaker is appointed (*ἀνέστας*, 25) by the Muse, the conduit between mortals and the Olympian realm (cf. 6–8), to a distinguished place on the contemporary Hellenic stage and within lyric history. As in *Paeon* 7b, so here too a privileged relation to the Muse represents and explains creative excellence. Local Theban identity contrasts with the speaker's international reach (cf. *Pae.* 4.21–4, B. 10.9–14). The speaker may well here be identified as Pindar of Thebes,⁴¹ but in any event his authorship is important to this text. This dithyramb, like the god that it celebrates, was born in Thebes but will become well known abroad (*τέκ' εὐδοξο[ν παρ'] ἀνθρώπο[ι]ς γενεάν*, 30, of Dionysus). *Dithyramb* 2, like many epinicians, highlights its ability to engage a geographically diverse audience.

C. Conclusions: rhetoric and reality

Paeon 7b highlights its durability through time (*ἀθάνατ[ο]ν*, 22); *Dithyramb* 2 highlights its reach through space (*Ἑλλάδι*, 25). It is *prima facie* unlikely that these two poems are exceptional among Pindar's fragmentary religious poetry in being oriented towards

⁴⁰ D'Angour (1997) posits a contrast between older linear choruses and circular choruses. Lavecchia (1997), (2000a) 125–32 argues for 'critica dei procedimenti compositivi il cui uso rende sgradevoli alcuni aspetti dell'esecuzione' ((1997) 5). See now Steiner (2015) 100–4.

⁴¹ It seems that a dithyrambic speaker could be identified with the poet. In B. 19 the speaker is identified as Bacchylides. There is no compelling reason to have the chorus address the poet; there is good reason to identify *εὐαίνετε Κηῖα μέριμνα* (11), who weaves the song (8), with *ἐμοί* (37), who decides how the song proceeds.

secondary audiences throughout time and space; rather, generically unusual features of their speaking situations more probably set them apart. In both the speaker is associated with, if not outright identified with, the author of the work, who endows it with literary qualities enabling dissemination and durability. Both passages competitively engage with the literary tradition. Both look largely to mortal, rather than divine, reception.

All of Pindar's cultic works likely aimed to live beyond one performance. These poems are probably at once fully literary in that they seek to please diverse human audiences and also fully religious in that they originally sought to please gods within cultic occasions. Perhaps this duality was less conceptually strange to the Greeks than it may seem to us (cf. Budelmann (2013) 93). The important point for interpretation lies not in affording 'logical and ontological priority' (Kurke (2005) 84) to the text rather than the ritual, but rather in realizing that a cultic poem pursues a range of goals related to, yet not simply identifiable with, the goals of the ritual that it once accompanied.⁴² We are justified in approaching these texts, like Pindar's epinicians, as self-consciously participating in a literary culture reaching beyond their first performance. Doubtless within their original cultic settings Pindar's works did real pragmatic work and had a substantial impact on how their first audiences experienced and conceptualized the religious events taking place in conjunction with the poem; while not denying this obvious and important fact, we should also appreciate that these texts were robustly capable of fulfilling other functions for other fifth-century Greeks and for us.

2. TRADITION

The last section argued that Pindar's cultic poems, like his epinicians, sought to engage audiences throughout space and time. Did pre-Pindaric lyric poets have a similar orientation towards their public? Throughout this section 'lyric' is used in the narrow sense of 'melic'.

⁴² Contrast Furley and Bremer (2002) i.112: Pindar's *Paean* 6 'presents a rare and valuable glimpse of what one might call the high point of choral lyric *serving a purely cultic purpose*' (my emphasis); Kurke (2005) 84: 'poem and context are *simply* interacting parts of the *same process* of ritualisation' (my emphasis).

According to one literary-historical narrative about early lyric, the parochial perspective evident in Alcman eventually evolved, for one reason or another, into the Panhellenic vistas of Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides.⁴³ A survey of how early lyric poets envisioned their audiences and authorial projects might raise problems for this familiar story. This section assembles and interprets primary evidence and then advances a hypothesis about how lyric related to its public in the archaic period. Investigating canonical authors in loose chronological order and in contrastive pairs, three sections examine traces of the rhetoric of permanence before Simonides. There is good reason to believe that early lyric poets aimed for a widespread and enduring reception. This conclusion has important implications for how we understand both their work and also Pindar's place in a lyric tradition.

A preliminary word is in order about the relationship between the rhetoric of permanence and genre. Homer and Hesiod are largely silent about their secondary audiences.⁴⁴ A connection between literary quality and durability is never prominent in Hesiodic poetry or Homeric epic but is central to programmatic passages in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (171–3) and many non-hexameter texts. Fame was evidently a concern of verse from time immemorial (M. L. West (2007) 397–410), but one must be clear about the shape of the fame predicted. It is one thing to proclaim, with the early British bard quoted in M. L. West (2007) 404, 'as long as there are singers, Hyfaidd will be praised;' it is another thing to claim 'Hyfaidd will be praised *as long as this song is sung*.' The first imagines glory perpetuated within a tradition as a whole; the second imagines glory dependent on the merits of a particular poem. The former conception is often reflected in the Homeric poems (e.g. *Il.* 6.357–8). The latter is central to many lyric poets' self-presentation. We are not by any means entitled to suppose that the latter is a 'natural', universal, or culturally independent notion (Lord (1960) 152, 155).

⁴³ Compare and contrast Snell (1961) ch. 4, Maehler (1963), Rösler (1980) 77–91, Woodbury (1985) 206, Stein (1990), Carey (1995) 87, (2001) 25–6, Beecroft (2010) 11–12, Maslov (2015) 178 n. 1. Ford (2002) aims to trace how context-dependent song evolved into true poetry (cf. page 157). Nagy's career-long project is wedded to various evolutionary narratives (cf. e.g. (1990) 53, 83).

⁴⁴ Cf. Rösler (1980) 58–9, Ford (1992) 28, Graziosi (2002) 57, Kelly (2008) 195–6. In the rhetoric of narrative epic, immortality is linked to heroic, not poetic, achievement. Compare and contrast de Jong (2006).

The Greek lyric poet, unlike the bard of narrative epic, prominently and frequently discusses his own process of creation.⁴⁵ He thus may highlight his skill *qua* creator to an extent foreign to narrative epic. The narrator of the *Iliad* receives truth from the Muses (2.484–93); Alcman, while in contact with the Muses, discovers something: *ἔπειη τὰδε καὶ μέλος Ἀλκμὰν | εὔρε*, ‘Alcman discovered these verses and song’ (39).⁴⁶ In lyric, poetic skill is associated with the rhetoric of permanence from the earliest period for which substantial reliable evidence survives. Two related factors are consistently linked with the rhetoric of permanence: emphasis on the poet’s status as skilled poet and a competitive stance toward others. When the first person is primarily a character within his own story, as with Alcaeus and Anacreon, or an unobtrusive narrator outside his story in the manner of narrative epic, as with Stesichorus, subsequent reception is not a prominent theme. When the poet’s role as skilled poet features centrally within the text, as with Alcman, Sappho, and Ibycus, literary excellence, as evinced by reception, features as a theme.

This section proceeds on the inherently plausible assumption of a strong continuity between early and late archaic lyric but also aims to buttress that hypothesis by illuminating some shared rhetorical patterns. Rather than arguing away from later parallels, I argue through them. As studying earlier lyric can help one to appreciate the background behind Pindar, Bacchylides, and Simonides, so too patterns evident in this fifth-century troika can help one to understand better their less well-preserved predecessors. Later parallels can often help to elucidate earlier fragmentary texts (Davies (1986a) 13). Pindar is too often studied in isolation from previous lyric poets, alongside whom he sometimes positions himself (VIII). The comparative approach pursued here may thus win two-fold returns and shed new light on both groups of texts. Methods of reading first applied in modern scholarship to earlier lyric have been subsequently applied to Pindar;⁴⁷ one might gain fresh insights by working in the opposite

⁴⁵ M. L. West (2011–13) i.410. Compare and contrast Krauss (1955) 78, R. Thomas (1995) 115, Finkelberg (1998) 164, and Carey (2000) 166, who posit chronological developments. We should be wary of mistaking the structures of genre for the story of literary history (cf. M. Griffith (1983)).

⁴⁶ On ‘discovering’ in such lyric contexts see Gerber (1982) 167 on O. 1.110, Henry (2005) 79 on N. 8.20, Davies and Finglass (2014) 496.

⁴⁷ Bernardini (1983) 39 acknowledges a debt to Gentili. Krummen (1990) 5, 7–8 acknowledges a debt to Calame (1977) and Rösler (1980).

direction and reading earlier lyric through interpretive strategies which have been applied to Pindar.

I will sometimes write as if a lyric poem closely tracks the biographical realities of its author. I am not committed to this as a general proposition. It would obviously be simplistic in many cases (e.g. Sa. 1). In order for my central arguments to work, it is necessary only that these texts sometimes offer a basically realistic picture of what it meant to be a successful lyric poet.

A. Alcman and Stesichorus

Greek lyric emerges from the fog of semi-mythology and hazily reconstructed backgrounds into the light of securely preserved texts with the enigmatic works of a Spartan poet. For us at least, the recorded history of lyric begins with Alcman, the poet who has seemed the most parochial of the canonical nine. No archaic text seems as intimately tied to its first performance as his longest surviving fragment, the 'Grand Partheneion', or bedevils modern readers with such obstacles to basic understanding.⁴⁸ Many have quested after external data that might make the text more readily comprehensible. Advancing new hypotheses into a crowded field, recent works argue that Alcman's performers represented heavenly bodies (G. Ferrari (2008)); that a *μίτρα* (67), 'headband', is not simply a *μίτρα* but a sort of parody of a warrior's helmet (Luginbill (2009) 44); that the poem reflects an otherwise unattested myth about 'Harpy-like Sirens especially predatory upon *παρθένοι*' (E. L. Bowie (2011) 62).

⁴⁸ Page (1951) v on Alcman. 1: 'for its audience the *Partheneion* was surely a very simple entertainment; for us it is exceptionally difficult'; Barrett (1961) 683 on Alcman. 3: 'limpid, no doubt, to an audience familiar with the personalities and the ritual, riddling to us who know nothing of either'; cf. D. Clay (1991) 51, Peponi (2004) 295. Doubtlessly Alcman's poems were also challenging for their first audiences. They may be concerned to *depict* the texture of intimate personal relations between chorus members. Cf. Sa. 27.4–10: maidens in a chorus addressing a mother? Nagy (1990) 344–9 and Hinge (2006) 292–4, (2009) hypothesize that Alcman's *partheneia* were a play of stock characters re-enacted year after year. This idea finds little positive support. Alcman. 5 fr. 2 col. ii looks like it describes historical individuals (cf. Pind. fr. 94b, M. L. West (1965) 188–92, (1992b)), as an ancient commentator, who had a complete text, supposes that it does.

So much speculation has crystallized around the text that one can almost forget that the body of primary evidence is discouragingly small. Perhaps 3 per cent of Alcman's Alexandrian edition survives (Hinge (2009) 215), mostly in tattered scraps and isolated verses. Maybe reading more of the vanished 97 per cent as a corpus would confer lucidity on its individual pieces.⁴⁹ If this sounds like nothing more than an evasive appeal to the impossible, it should be remembered that since Alcman's second most substantial fragment was published in 1957, scholars have continually noted manifest generic congruencies between this poem and the 'Grand Partheneion'.⁵⁰ These parallels allow one to move beyond guesswork and make reasoned inferences. Much archaic lyric is adequately comprehensible only against cumulative literary backgrounds of a sort that are largely unavailable in the case of Alcman. If Pindar's *Olympian* 11 were the lone surviving epinician, this text would be very difficult for us to understand. Sappho's 'Brothers Poem' makes robust sense only within the larger context of her poetic oeuvre and the life-narrative contained therein.⁵¹ We should not underestimate the power of archaic lyric to *create* its own context in various ways.

A better sense of their literary rather than performative or social context might allow us better to appreciate why Alcman's poems could be, as they evidently in fact were,⁵² interesting and engaging to ancient secondary audiences who, like modern scholars, were not privy to various details of rituals, personalities, and performances—although this might at first seem at least as mysterious as any riddle the first *partheneion* has to offer.

⁴⁹ To judge by their opinions preserved in the scholia, ancient scholars, who had at least six papyrus rolls of Alcman, were at times as befuddled as their modern counterparts. Yet the scholia to Pindar's epinicians sometimes record comparable confusions.

⁵⁰ See already Lobel (1957a) 8 in the *editio princeps*; cf. e.g. Stehle (1997) 86–94.

⁵¹ Cf. Spelman (2014a) 61, arguing a point strengthened by subsequent papyrus finds.

⁵² Hinge (2006) 295–314, (2009) argues that Alcman's *partheneia* were not much known outside Sparta in the archaic and classical periods. This seems unlikely: cf. P. Oxy. 2389 fr. 9 col. i.8–10 (? Pindar), Pind. fr. 94b, Eup. fr. 148 PCG with Olson (2007) 181–2, Ar. *Lys.* 1247–1321, Av. 250–2 with Kugelmeier (1996) 17–22, and Carey (2011), who, through different arguments, reaches a position in harmony with mine: 'Alcman positions his poetry for an external as well as an internal audience' (442).

At least one piece of evidence strongly suggests that Alcman conceived of the afterlife of his work as extending beyond Sparta (148i = Arist. *Or.* 28.54):

ἐτέρωθι τοῖνυν καλλωπιζόμενος παρ' ὅσοις εὐδοκμεῖ, τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἔθνη
καταλέγει ὥστ' ἔτι νῦν τοὺς ἀθλίους γραμματιστὰς ζητεῖν οὐ γῆς ταύτ' εἶναι. . . .

Elsewhere he [sc. Alcman] prides himself on among how many peoples he has a good reputation and catalogues so many and so strange races so that still even now the poor schoolteachers search out where in the world they are. . . .

Aristides' account of Alcman's words tallies with rhetorical patterns preserved in later poets who link their work to widespread fame.⁵³ The report is *prima facie* credible. A reference to contemporary research practice seems incompatible with outright fabrication. In fact, we know of a scholarly work by Alexander Polyhistor—hardly a schoolteacher—about the names of places in Alcman's poetry (Alcm. TB15, 151, 153 = *FGrH* 273 F 95–6). Not far from our passage Aristides quotes Alcman's *ipsissima verba* (*Or.* 28.54 = fr. 106); he is working with a text or from his memory of a text. στεγανόποδας, 'Umbrella-foots' (Alcm. 148ii), looks like an independent quotation from this passage (cf. Alcm. 149–157). Horace *Odes* 2.20, which describes the poet's afterlife among exotic peoples, probably alludes to this piece of Alcman. We lack compelling grounds to judge inauthentic what Alexandrian scholars evidently judged authentic and included in their authoritative edition.

Probably Alcman conceived of the source of his fame as being that for which he was in fact famous in antiquity: his poetry. The present-tense εὐδοκμεῖ (148i) shows that he invoked a reputation already established within his lifetime.⁵⁴ καλλωπιζόμενος (148i) connotes a familiar connection between authorial excellence and widespread renown (cf. Sappho 65, Pind. *O.* 9.21–8). A catalogue of exotic ethnicities will have made a powerful impression on Spartan audiences transported to far-off settings. Their sense of the importance of

⁵³ For later parallels see Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 332–3, 346 on Hor. *Carm.* 2.20. Contrast Rösler (1980) 65 n. 86, 67 n. 90. Spelman (2014b) tries to show that it is not the case that Horace 'hat offensichtlich [Alcman] night gelesen' (Hinge (2006) 312). See now Harrison (2017) 111–12.

⁵⁴ Cf. Sappho P. Köln XI 429 1.3–8, Ibyc. S151.48, Pind. *O.* 1.116.

the present occasion could have been enriched by imagining its importance to others.

One need not take this rhetoric at face value in order to attribute significance to it. Perhaps Alcman did not earnestly anticipate his popularity beyond the pale of civilization among peoples as strange as the Umbrella-foots (148ii) any more than Horace in *Odes* 2.20 really imagined that he would be carefully read by 'the most distant Geloni' (18–19).⁵⁵ Nonetheless, this fragment demonstrates that Alcman valued a widespread reputation for his poetry *as an ideal*. This is plausible. His work manifests a cosmopolitan ethos and a sense of Sparta's place in the larger world.⁵⁶

Other fragments provide some encouragement for the hypothesis that Alcman envisioned his poems outliving their first performance. He could have imagined that his works accompanying 'deathless rites' (*ἀθανάτας τελετάς*, 7.4–5) in Sparta would endure within their durable religious setting. His work did survive in reperformance within Spartan ritual (TB7 = Sosibius *FGrH* 595 F 5, who also mentions Pindar's works; cf. Alcman TB6, TB8). A corrupt fragment just might assert the possibility of preserving the present for posterity, perhaps through poetry (118): ἔστι παρέντων μνάστιν †ἐπιθέσθαι† (ἐπιέσθαι Sitzler), 'it is possible to establish the memory of present circumstances (?)'. This may have invited its first audience to view the here and now through the lens of imagined future remembrance.⁵⁷ For later audiences the continued existence of Alcman's words would confirm their own proposition. Fr. 11, a papyrus commentary, discusses the poet's creativity (*τὰς εὐ[ρ]έσεις*, 22). In such a context, ἐπέων π[τεροέντων], 'winged words' (24), a poetic quotation, might suggest the ability of his words to fly outside the context of their first utterance. In lyric 'winged' is not an ornamental epithet freely applied to speech, let alone to the poet's very special sort of speech.⁵⁸ Haslam (1977) 5 suggests that in the very lacunose fr. 4a the glory (*κλέος*, 3) in question belongs to the poet, not his subject, and derives from the Muses. It may be relevant that this fragment comes from the final poem in the sixth book of Alcman's Alexandrian edition. In arranged

⁵⁵ Cf. Ar. *Ach.* 646–9, Syndikus (1972–3) i.483–4.

⁵⁶ Cf. Alcman 1.50–1, 58–9, 67–8, 100–1, 3.71–2, M. L. West (1965) 192–4.

⁵⁷ Cf. Calame (1983) 594. For *παρέντων* of present circumstances cf. LSJ⁹ s.v. II. For *μνάστιν* of poetic remembrance cf. Simon. 531.3, Nic. *Ther.* 957–8. Note [Eur.] *Phoen.* 1584–5.

⁵⁸ Cf. Pind. *P.* 8.34, *N.* 7.22, *I.* 5.63, Silk (1998) 79.

collections, references to future fame often close out books.⁵⁹ Vestrheim (2004) 16–17 interprets fr. 26 as a wish for fame. It may, however, be a wish to escape old age.⁶⁰

An awareness of newness presumes a background of older works and hence a conception of literary history.⁶¹ Alcman seems to describe a novel poetic creation addressed to mankind most generally: *σαν]μαστὰ δ' ἀνθ[(ἀνθ[ρώποις(ι), Lobel) . . . γαρήματα μαλσικά . . . νεόχμα ἔδειξαν τερεπ]*, 'wondrous to men . . . gentle utterances . . . new . . . they displayed' (4.4–6). The fragment may concern Alcman's predecessors, perhaps even naming individuals.⁶² He is said to have mentioned Polymnestus (145).⁶³ If he remembered earlier poets, it would not be difficult for Alcman to think of himself being remembered in the future.

Some of his poems prominently feature a choral narrator, but Alcman also appears within his work as a skilled poet. He names himself (17, 39), perhaps in part to preserve his identity for posterity. He seems to have held a privileged and even maybe institutional position in Spartan society thanks to his poetic skill.⁶⁴ Evidently Alcman, like Pindar, had pragmatic reasons to highlight the recognized social value of his craftsmanship.

Alcman already exhibits some concepts of performance and reception central to lyric authorship through the ages; Stesichorus is the most 'epic' of archaic lyric poets not only in diction and narrative style but also in his unobtrusive authorial persona. Neither the rhetoric of performance nor the rhetoric of permanence seems very important to his work. He probably never mentioned his own name.⁶⁵ Little suggests that he meditated on the afterlife of his poetry.

⁵⁹ See Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 335. Cf. Sappho. 44.4, Ibyc. S151.46–8, both from the end of papyrus rolls.

⁶⁰ Cf. Callim. *Hecale* fr. 41, an allusion to this passage; for the imagery see Barrett (1964) 299.

⁶¹ Hinds (1998) 55: 'proclamations of one poet's newness are inevitably proclamations of another poet's oldness.'

⁶² Cf. Lobel (1957b) 23, Davies (1986b). Alternatively, the subject could have been the chorus who performed Alcman's work: cf. 59b for the aorist and 39 for the idea of novelty.

⁶³ The report deserves more credence than usual. Our source, [Plut.] *de mus.* 1133a, says that Alcman and Pindar mention Polymnestus. The latter assertion is confirmed by an independent quotation (Pind. fr. 188).

⁶⁴ Cf. Hutchinson (2001) 75. Alcman. 17.6–8 suggests elevated social rank: *ὥπερ ὁ δᾶμος* implies that Alcman is not just one of the common folk.

⁶⁵ Davies and Finglass (2014) 15. Disagreement about the authorship of various cyclic epics shows that the narrator did not identify himself in these works and thus that anonymity was conventional in narrative epic from early on.

In the proem of the *Sack of Troy*, Stesichorus, like Homer (*Il.* 2.484–93), asks the Muses to help him sing a traditional theme metatraditionally labelled as such (κλέρος, 100.14; cf. ἀνθρώπους κλέρο[ς, 117.9). In this passage the fame of the poet's topic does not seem to depend on this particular poem. A description of Stesichorus' work as δαμώματα, 'songs sung for the people' (173), labels it as public property. Though such poems will have debuted at public occasions, those Stesichorean works for which substantial evidence survives do not closely link themselves with any particular pragmatic context. Remains of the *Oresteia* (172–3), which mention the onset of spring, imply some interplay between occasion and text, but the content of this poem, as evidenced by the title and surviving fragments, is not clearly linked to any particular festival. We now have a significant fragment from the proem of the *Sack of Troy* (100),⁶⁶ which seems to move straight into the main narrative after a brief exordium. It looks probable that Stesichorus' story, like the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* and unlike most archaic lyric, lacked any enunciative frame grounding it in one particularized place and time.

Even if it did not explicitly discuss its own dispersal, Stesichorus' poetry is unlikely to have had an exclusively parochial orientation. The author travelled;⁶⁷ probably he wanted for his work to travel with and without him. Davies and Finglass (2014) 23 write that 'if Stesichorus had been composing for performance mainly or wholly in a single locality, we might expect to see some indication of that in his poetry, via content or dialect. Since we do not, it is reasonable to infer that he envisioned a panhellenic audience.'⁶⁸ There is no good reason to believe that Stesichorus' 'Homeric' work aimed for a more limited reception than Homer's poetry had in fact already achieved in the western Greek world during Stesichorus' lifetime. His detailed allusions presume that at least some among his audiences were robustly familiar with Homeric poetry.⁶⁹ By creatively engaging with Homer and also apparently by challenging Homer's established authority (90.1–4), Stesichorus advances a claim to belong to, and to be remembered within, the same poetic tradition reaching through time and space (cf. IV.4).

⁶⁶ Finglass (2013) convincingly defends the reconstruction.

⁶⁷ See Davies and Finglass (2014) 12–14, 24–5, Carey (2015) 54.

⁶⁸ Cf. Burkert (2001) 107, Arrighetti (1994) 30.

⁶⁹ See, most recently, Kelly (2015) 34–42. Note especially Stesichorus 170 with *Od.* 15.160 and following, a specific and not particularly memorable scene unlikely to be an inherited part of the epic tradition.

B. Alcaeus and Sappho

A comparison between Sappho and Alcaeus suggests how authorial persona relates to the rhetoric of permanence. These near contemporary Lesbians composed poetry broadly similar in form but differ markedly in how they depict its reception. Little in Alcaeus' surviving work directly suggests that he anticipated an audience wider than his faction or expected his songs to outlast their first utterance.⁷⁰ Only one corrupt fragment (309), couched as a generalization, might even so much as hint at the possibility of poetic permanence: τὸ γὰρ θέων ἰότατι ὕμμε λαχόντων †αφντον θήσει γέρας† (γέρας ἄφθιτον ἀνθήσει Bekker), '... deathless honour will flourish (?) of those who by the will of the gods have obtained you as their lot (?).' Scholars have speculated that these words from the first book of the Alexandrian edition belonged to an invocation of the Muses.⁷¹ No comparably plausible rival hypothesis has been advanced. Poetic permanence might be linked to divine favour.⁷² A future verb may have more or less directly brought the attention of a first audience to the fate of the poem that they heard.

In Sappho the rhetoric of permanence plays a far more central role.⁷³ She apparently discussed the reception of her work more than any canonical lyric poet before Simonides. In one fragment she denies that someone else will enjoy posthumous memorialization (55):

κατθάνοις δὲ κείῃ οὐδέ ποτα μναμόύνα σέθεν
ἔσσει' οὐδὲ †ποκ'† ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχῃς βρόδων
τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας, ἀλλ' ἀφάνης κὰν Αἶδα δόμῳ
φοιτάῃς πεδ' ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα.

When you are dead you will lie in the grave and there will never be any remembrance of you . . . in time to come. For you do not partake in the roses

⁷⁰ Bowra (1961) 170 writes that Alcaeus 'suffers because he writes too directly for his friends'. Maslov (2015) 178 n. 1 writes that 'important observations on the lack of literary self-consciousness in early Archaic poets, who instead base their authority exclusively on the immediate social context for which their production was destined, are presented in Rösler (1980).'

⁷¹ M. L. West (1990b) 5, Liberman (1999) 231, Tsomis (2001) 90–1, and especially Treu (1949).

⁷² Contrast Rösler (1980) 75. Cf. B. 3.71, 10.39, 19.3–4, anon. 1001 PMG. For the γέρας of the poet cf. now Sa. P. Köln XI 429 1.6–7.

⁷³ Compare and contrast Bowra (1961) 206–7, Maehler (1963) 59–60, Stein (1990) 268–9, M. L. West (2011–13) ii.31, Stehle (1997) 273, 311, Aloni (1997) lxxii–lxxiii, 100–1, 116–17, Hutchinson (2001) 146–7, F. Ferrari (2010) 63.

from Pieria, but once you have flown away you will roam about among the dim corpses, obscure in the house of Hades as well.

Because the addressee, unlike Sappho, does not partake in immortalizing verse, she will not be remembered in time to come, and death for her will be absolute.⁷⁴ Sappho, by contrast, does have a share in the roses from Pieria in a somewhat similar sense as Bacchylides' Hieron 'has a share of the violet-haired Muses' (ἰοπλό)κων τε μέρο[ς ἔχοντ]α *Μουσαῖν*, B. 3.71): that is to say, Sappho partakes in literature, not as its discerning audience but rather as a skilled composer. She 'has a share' with others who belong to a poetic tradition, not with others who partake in some institutionalized cult of the Muses.⁷⁵ The flower, which can stand as a symbol of transience, here becomes a symbol of permanence.

Sappho inverts the rhetoric of permanence. Whereas Pindar invites Hieron to imagine living on posthumously in song as a presence among the living (P. 1.97–8), Sappho invites her addressee to imagine herself as a corpse. She will not enjoy the radiance of glory but will remain invisible. She will not fly among the living (cf. Thgn. 247–50) but will take flight from the world and roam about as another insubstantial, unremarkable ghost. Present lack (οὐ . . . πεδέχῃς, 2) ensures a permanent fate (ἔσσετ', 2). Perhaps Sappho enacted this anonymity by suppressing the name of her addressee. καί (3) looks like it emphasizes a parallel: obscure then in the afterlife as now on earth.⁷⁶ This implies that Sappho, by contrast, is already conspicuous during her lifetime, as she will also be afterwards (cf. fr. 32, P. Köln XI 429 1.3–8).

Plutarch's quotation of fr. 55 (*praec. conv.* 146a) suggests that Sappho contrasted wealth with the superior power of enduring

⁷⁴ Barrett *apud* Page (1955) 137–8 n. 3, Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 306, Aloni (1997) 100; contrast Rösler (1980) 73. Cf. Antipater of Sidon 239 *HE*: (Peitho with the help of Sappho) ἔπλεκε' ἀείζωνον Πιερίδων στέφανον. Such allusions in later authors, who read much more Sappho than we read today, are *prima facie* unlikely to stem from a systematic misunderstanding of the basic nature of her work.

⁷⁵ I do not see compelling evidence that Sappho belonged to an institutionalized cult of the Muses: contrast Rösler (1980) 73, Gentili (1988) 84, Palmisciano (1998) 183, Hardie (2005) 19, Caciagli (2011) 215. Cf. Page (1955) 139–40, H. N. Parker (1993), Stehle (1997) 273, F. Ferrari (2010) 147. A purely eschatological reading of fr. 55 could not account for *μναμοσύνα* (1). For fame as a consolation for the dead in the underworld cf. *Od.* 24.93–4.

⁷⁶ Cf. P. Köln XI 429 1.4–6, Tzamali (1996) 284–7; contrast Luppino (1967).

poetry. Fr. 193 (= Arist. *Or.* 28.51) involves similar contrasts and might refer to the same poem:

οἶμαι δέ σε καὶ Σαπφoύς ἀκηκοέναι πρὸς τινὰς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων δοκουσῶν
εἶναι γυναικῶν μεγαλαυχουμένης καὶ λεγούσης, ὥς αὐτὴν αἱ Μοῦσαι τῶι
ὄντι ὀλβίαν τε καὶ ζηλωτὴν ἐποίησαν, καὶ ὥς οὐδ' ἀποθανούσης ἔσται λήθη.

I suppose that you have heard Sappho boasting and saying to certain women among those seeming to be fortunate that the Muses made her truly blessed and enviable and that she would not be forgotten even after she died.

For Sappho, as for later poets, lasting poetic glory surpasses material riches that last but a lifetime.⁷⁷

Elsewhere Sappho declares that she will not be forgotten in time to come: *μνάσεσθαι τινὰ φαῖμι* †*καὶ ἔτερον*† *ἀμμέων* (147; *ἄψερων* Lobel; cf. now 17.6), ‘I declare that someone will remember us even hereafter.’ The indefinite *τις* referring to those who will experience a poem in time to come is by now familiar (III.7). *φαῖμι* with the future infinitive expresses a confident prediction.⁷⁸ The plural *ἀμμέων* might point to the survival of this particular composition in which she spoke to another individual thereby rescued from oblivion.

In another fragment Aphrodite seems to assure Sappho that her fame will spread as far as the rays of the sun and endure beyond her demise (65.5–10):⁷⁹

Ψάπφοι, σεφίλ[
Κύπρω β[α]σίλ[
καίτοι μέγα δ.[
ὄ]σσοις φαέθων [
πάνται κλέος [
καί σ' ἐν Ἀχέρ[οντ

... Sappho ... love you ... Cyprus ... queen ... and yet a great ... for all those whom the shining [sun] ... glory everywhere ... and you even in ... Acheron ...

⁷⁷ Cf. Solon 24, Pind. *N.* 4.79–85, *I.* 1.67–8, *B.* 1.159–63, 178–84. Sapphic attacks on materialism: 132, 148. In the ‘Brothers Poem’ the addressee’s hope that Charaxus return with valuable cargo (*ναῖ cὺν πλῆγαι*, 2) contrasts with the speaker’s prayer for his safe return (*εἰάν ... νᾶα*, 7–8).

⁷⁸ Cf. *Il.* 5.103–5, 652–5, Pind. *P.* 4.14, *B.* 13.58.

⁷⁹ I am not fully convinced by the impressive reconstruction of F. Ferrari (2005), expanded upon in F. Ferrari (2010) 55–7. I hope to discuss this fragment in the future.

In these lacunose words a familiar sequence of thought seems discernible in broad outline. In line 7 Fränkel attractively supplements μέγα δῶ[ρον] (cf. *Il.* 9.576, [Hes.] fr. 211.8). This phrase and *σεφίλ*[(5)] suggest divine favour, presumably from Aphrodite, as a source for the fame subsequently described (cf. *Sa.* 32, 193). Lines 8–9 deal with the geographical extent of glory which reaches as far as the sun shines.⁸⁰ Focus then shifts from space to time: Sappho's fame will spread through space and then last through time even after she has left the world (cf. *Thgn.* 237–50). The sun, defining the entire realm of the living, contrasts with the dark underworld.

There is no strong reason to suppose that Sappho supposed that she would be famous for anything other than that for which she prided herself during her lifetime and that for which she is still in fact famous: her poetry. Helen of Troy, whose beauty dragged whole civilizations into war, can reasonably envision being remembered within a tradition of poetry (*Il.* 6.357–8); Sappho, whom later tradition sometimes remembered as unattractive, has only her own verse by which to claim remembrance.⁸¹ If Sappho speaks of the afterlife of her works in terms similar to those used by later Greek poets, the burden of proof should be placed on those who would argue that she is not speaking about much the same thing.

Another fragment, like fr. 65, also contrasts and aligns the worlds of the living and the dead. Preceding the 'Old Age Poem' in a Cologne papyrus are several fascinating but scrappy verses (P. Köln XI 429 1.3–8; text after Obbink (2009)):⁸²

⁸⁰ Cf. Tullius Laurea 3915–16 *GP*, perhaps referring to our passage: γνώσεται ὡς Αἰδέω σκότον ἔκφυγον, οὐδέ τις ἔσται | τῆς λυρικῆς Σαπφουῖς νῶνυμος ἥελιος; *Ov. Her.* 15.12–13: *sum brevis, at nomen, quod terras impleat omnes, | est mihi.* Here *nomen* looks to *Ψάπφοι* (*Sa.* 65.5) while *terras... omnes* looks to *πάνται* (65.9).

⁸¹ See Kivilo (2010) 173. Lardinois (2008) 89 writes that 'what the references in Sappho's poetry to her fame after death primarily imply is the *memory of the performances* of her songs by her near-contemporaries' (my emphasis); cf. Tsomis (2001) 206. Presumably what made Sappho's performances memorable was her poetry (cf. P. Köln XI 429 1.3–8). *πάνται* (65.9) also militates against Lardinois' thesis, as does *τις* (147). As with Pindar, Sappho's rhetoric of permanence is marked by vagueness.

⁸² In the 'Old Age Poem' Tithonus' immortal voice might be an analogue for Sappho's immortal song: so Janko (2005) 19, Rawles (2006) 6–7; cf. Aloni et al. (2008) 99–100.

]. νῦν θαλ[ί]α . . . [
]. νέρθε δὲ γᾶς . . . [. . .] .
]. . ν' ἔχρισαν γέρας ὥς [ἔ]οικεν
]ζοιεν, ὥς νῦν ἐπὶ γᾶς ἔοικαν
] λιγύραν [α]ῖ' κεν ἔλοισα πᾶκτιν
] . . . α . ἁάλα, Μοῖς, ἀεῖδω.

... now celebration... beneath the earth... having an honour as is fitting
 ... they might wonder (?)... as now when I am on the earth... if ever taking
 the clear-sounding *pēktis*... I sing, o Muse, beautiful things.

The general drift of sense seems reasonably clear. As several scholars have observed, Horace *Odes* 2.13.24–30, which describes Sappho performing in the underworld, probably alludes to these lines.⁸³ The prestige which Sappho claims in this life and the next (γέρας, 5) is tied to her poetic vocation. ὥς [ἔ]οικεν (5) conveys due pride in a social reality (cf. μεγαλαυχουμένης, fr. 193). The generalizing [α]ῖ' κεν (7) connotes a reputation accrued over the course of successive performances that together constitute something like a career. One particular festive occasion, presented as the moment of enunciation (νῦν θαλ[ί]α, 3), will be in a sense repeated in the hereafter. Sappho's immediate contemporaries would have been invited to imagine the present moment paralleled in the underworld as the present performance and hypothetical performances are brought together (νέρθε δὲ γᾶς . . . ὥς νῦν ἔπι γᾶς, 4–6). A secondary audience is invited to think of Sappho singing from beyond the grave.⁸⁴ The figure of the poet singing in the underworld, as in many later texts, evokes a parallel afterlife in poetry remembered by later generations above ground.⁸⁵

In another fragment Sappho dissuades her daughter from weeping: οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἐν μοισοπόλων «δόμων» | θρήνον ἔμμεν' < . . . > οὐ κ' ἄμμι πρέποι τάδε (150), 'for it is not right for there to be a threnody in the house of those who serve the Muses . . . these things would not befit

⁸³ E.g. Di Benedetto (2005) 10.

⁸⁴ Bettarini (2008) 30 posits contrast rather than congruity between life and afterlife. But ὥς νῦν (6) prima facie suggests a parallel (cf. Hardie (2005) 23). Bettarini's reconstruction produces somewhat unexpected sense: 'they would not wonder at me, *although* I have the γέρας of the Muses, as is fitting.' One expects 'they would wonder at me *because*'.

⁸⁵ Cf. Aloni et al. (2008) 136–9, Stehle (2009) 127. For later images of the poet in the underworld see Kerkhecker (1999) 13–15.

us.’ An unnoticed Horatian allusion encourages a certain line of interpretation: *absint inani funere neniae | luctusque turpes et querimoniae*, ‘let there be absent from my empty funeral songs of lament and ugly grieving and mourning’ (*Carm.* 2.20.21–2).⁸⁶ The text of the Sappho fragment is compatible with a speaking situation, perhaps imagined, like that depicted by Horace: Sappho, as the source of our fragment implies, was thinking of her own demise and forbidding mourning.⁸⁷ Because she will live on in song, perhaps, a threnody would not be fitting for her. Fame would here be a source of consolation, as it is for Pindar’s mortal victors and for Horace. This poem, which celebrates poetic achievement, would in a sense replace the standard threnody which accompanied standard obsequies (cf. *mitte supervacuus honores*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.20.24). On this reading, Sappho would be playing with different genres and contrasting her own poetry with other, commoner types of song.

Sappho could have conceived of some of her works as being perpetuated in institutional settings on Lesbos. New papyrus finds reveal for the first time a piece clearly and closely connected to a particular cultic ritual.⁸⁸ In fr. 17 the poet and her contemporaries continue a rite established long ago by heroes returning from Troy: *νῦν δὲ κ[αί]... πόημεν | κατὰ τὸ πάλ[αον]*, ‘and so now too... we perform in accordance with ancient custom’ (11–12). It would not be unreasonable if Sappho thought that some of her work might endure and be iterated as a part of an enduring, iterative social practice.

Sappho 44 describes the wedding of Hector and Andromache.⁸⁹ The herald Idaeus predicts that this event will be remembered in time to come and that the couple will enjoy ‘unwithering glory’ (*κλέος ἄφθιτον*, 4). In the context of fr. 44, this phrase constitutes a meta-traditional reference to the fame of the Trojan saga as perpetuated in large part through epic, the genre which Sappho evokes in this poem

⁸⁶ Spelman (2014b) 27 n. 26 and now Harrison (2017) 243. *nenia* translates *θρήνη*: see Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 30–1.

⁸⁷ Max. Tyr. 18.9, *prima facie* suggests that Sappho was thinking of her own death, as some scholars suppose; contrast Treu (1968) 220, who objects that ‘soweit wir sehen, spricht Sappho niemals von Eventualitäten.’ Treu did not have Sappho’s ‘Brothers Poem’.

⁸⁸ See especially Neri (2014).

⁸⁹ This paragraph includes arguments advanced more fully in Spelman (2017b).

through metre, prosody, flexion, vocabulary, narrative style, and content. As in Homer, the characters within Sappho's poem look forward to how they will be viewed by posterity. Idaeus' optimistic prediction of undying fame for the bridal pair is charged with irony for all those familiar with a saga in which this happy marriage was eclipsed by the arc of a larger story that did not end happily for the Trojans or for Hector and Andromache in particular. Yet the herald's prediction, in a way undercut by the mythological tradition to which he belongs, is also in a way confirmed by Sappho's own enduring poem, which memorializes the wedding of Hector and Andromache, a relatively unimportant episode within the larger Trojan saga, as a significant event worthy of being remembered for its own sake as Sappho's work is remembered in time to come.

Sappho and Alcaeus composed broadly similar poetry at roughly the same time on the same island. Both were preceded by the same robust tradition of Lesbian poetry.⁹⁰ It is *prima facie* unlikely that only one of them was capable of envisioning lasting and widespread reception. A disparity in the rhetoric of permanence probably reflects differences in their authorial personae, which were shaped in part by external circumstances.

I here indulge in some speculation about those circumstances. Sappho perhaps was a teacher of some sort and maybe a professional one. She reportedly had a geographically diverse group of companions, which might suggest a widespread contemporary reputation.⁹¹ Several fragments address rivals of some sort. An agonistic stance is frequently apparent. Sappho's poetry is often about being an excellent poet and thus often discusses literary excellence and its manifestation in subsequent reception. Conversely, Alcaeus' status as poet is not very central to his surviving fragments, which often exhibit a robust

⁹⁰ Sa. 106, expressing local pride within a broader perspective, favourably compares a Lesbian singer to that of another land; cf. Archil. 121.1, Power (2010) 378–9, Hauser (2016) 140. A. M. Bowie (1981) demonstrates that Sappho and Alcaeus did not compose in quotidian Lesbian but used inherited poetic language. The murky figures of Arion and Terpander suggest a Lesbian tradition. In antiquity the cyclic *Little Iliad* was mainly attributed to a certain Lesches of Lesbos, who was thought to have lived in the seventh century.

⁹¹ 253 Voigt, 261a fr. 1 SLG. H. N. Parker (1994) 320 n. 22 speculates that this tradition of non-Lesbian companions comes from Attic comedy. But there is nothing inherently farcical about the idea. Perhaps these companions did not come to Lesbos because of Sappho, but other hypotheses will have even less evidence. Cf. Spelman (2017a).

sense of corporate solidarity.⁹² He typically addresses other members of his faction and tends to put himself on the same level as his internal audience. There is much more going on, however, under the surface. Probably Alcaeus, like Sappho, composed for secondary audiences and not just for those contemporaries in his faction.⁹³

C. Ibycus and Anacreon

Ibycus and Anacreon in some respects anticipated the careers of Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides. Both apparently travelled to Samos; both seem to have composed for individuals in various parts of the Greek world.⁹⁴ As with their fifth-century successors, these poets' reputation and hence their work will have preceded them abroad. Both were presumably professionals of some sort, but the nature of their relationships to various patrons is difficult to ascertain through the little evidence available.⁹⁵ Like Sappho and Alcaeus, this pair composed broadly comparable poetry at roughly the same time but do not, as far as we can tell, discuss poetic permanence to a comparable degree. Again this disparity is more plausibly explained through differences in their authorial personae rather than in their orientation towards their public.

Anacreon's poetic vocation does not figure centrally in his work. As in Archilochus and Hipponax, the first person appears primarily as a character in a homodiegetic narrative, not as an exceptional craftsman. In a programmatic description,⁹⁶ Anacreon boasts that his words win attractive youths, not secondary audiences (402c): ἐμὲ γὰρ ἰλόγων (λόγων <ἐμῶν> Bergk) εἵνεκα παῖδες ἄν φιλέοιεν | χαρίεντα μὲν γὰρ αἶδω, χαρίεντα δ' οἶδα λέξαι, 'for boys might love me for my words because I sing charmingly and know how to speak charmingly.' Anacreon's poetic ambition does not feature in his

⁹² Cf. Alc. fr. 140 with Spelman (2015).

⁹³ Cf. Liberman (1999) xxxv; contrast Gentili (1988) 115: 'Sappho and Alcaeus composed for a restricted circle of hearers;' Caciagli (2011) 11–12.

⁹⁴ Hutchinson (2001) 231–4, 256–60, E. L. Bowie (2009) 122–3, 127, Wilkinson (2013) 3–4. In my opinion it would be a surprising if Ibycus' Polycrates were not *the* Polycrates. Ornaghi (2008) and Wilkinson (2013) 6–8 review the evidence.

⁹⁵ Cf. Stewart (2016) 213–14, 219–20.

⁹⁶ Leo (2015) 116: '[il] frammento enuncia un programma poetico.'

predominantly playful work, which at times deflates 'high' themes.⁹⁷ There can be little doubt that the poet, who appeared on Attic vases during his own lifetime (Hutchinson (2001) 259), was in reality already a celebrated figure in his day.

Critias trumpets Anacreon's poetic immortality as Anacreon himself does not in surviving fragments (B 1.8–10 D-K):

οὐ ποτέ σου φιλότης γηράσεται οὐδὲ θανείται,
ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ οἴνῳ συμμειγνύμενον κυλίκεσσιν
παῖς διαπομπεύῃ προπόσεις ἐπὶ δεξιὰ νωμῶν . . .

Nor will love of you grow old or die as long as a boy carries around water mixed with wine for cups and deals out toasts from left to right . . .

With an ambiguity between the subjective and objective genitive, the sense of *σου φιλότης* (8) is poised between Anacreon's love for others, as recorded in his erotic works, and others' affection for his work, as embodied in the ongoing reception of Anacreon's poetry and in Critias' own poem. Though Anacreon often features as an old man (e.g. 358, 379, 395), his poems outlive their author and remain perpetually young as the boys who serve wine throughout the Greek world (cf. Thgn. 241, Pind. *P.* 1.98). Anacreon's work, which treats sympotic themes, has become so closely linked to the circumstances of its reception that it will last as long as they do.⁹⁸ Attesting to the robust reception of Anacreon's poetry already in the fifth century, Critias here plays with the rhetoric of permanence. This humorous homage is faithful to the playful spirit of its subject but is parasitic on grandiose themes which do not feature in what remains of Anacreon.

Anacreon's work is often ostensibly pragmatic but in reality likely had literary ambitions more elevated than 'keep[ing] the peace in a quite diverse gathering' held by a monarch (Kantzios (2005) 238). If his poems seem capable of appealing to diverse people, as Kantzios persuasively argues that they are, then we may want to seek other explanations for this besides the social composition of those audiences who first heard these witty songs, which appealed to many in the ancient world.

⁹⁷ Anac. 347, 358 (looking to Sappho?), 395 (looking to Sappho's 'Old Age Poem'?).

⁹⁸ For ἔστ' ἂν (9) cf. Thgn. 251–2, Simon. 581, Pind. *P.* 6.1–18, Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 372.

Unlike Anacreon, Ibycus features as a celebrated poet in his preserved work. His most extensive surviving fragment, the so-called 'Polycrates Ode' (S151), is also his most extensive meditation on poetic permanence. Like Pindar and Bacchylides' epinicians, this is a poem which perpetuates the glory of an individual contemporary. As often in Pindar, subsequent reception comes into view when the author sets himself alongside Homer, an unmatched paradigm of authorial excellence (III.4). As often in Pindar, intertextuality advances an implicit argument. Epic vocabulary and themes, presented with metatraditional framing, recall the epic poetry which had successfully preserved the fame of the heroes whom Ibycus remembers.⁹⁹ The younger poet's ambition to immortalize his subject has precedent woven into his work.

Ibycus' poem, like many Pindaric odes, cannot be fully appreciated without substantial knowledge of the literary past.¹⁰⁰ The text of lines 23–6 is sadly corrupt but seems to hark back to a specific Homeric passage (text after Wilkinson (2013) 51):

καὶ τὰ μὲν [ἄν] Μοίαισι σεσοφί[σμι]έναι
 εὖ Ἐλικωνίδ[εσ] ἐμβαίειν ἄλ[ο]γ[ω]ι,
 θνατ[ό]τ' δ' οὔ κ[ε] ἀν[ή]ρ
 διερ[ό]σ[ε]]. τὰ ἔκαστα εἴποι . . .

And these things the wise Heliconian Muses might embark upon in speech (?) well, but no mortal man (?) could tell every single detail . . .

Ibycus seems to state or imply that no individual mortal could adequately tell of the many Greek ships which came to Troy. This would undermine Homer's claim to do so with the Muses' help in the invocation before the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.484–93).¹⁰¹ Pindar's attack on Homer's account of Odysseus' exploits at *N.* 7.20–7 shows similar interest in challenging the claim of epic to represent the past.

⁹⁹ *περικλέες* (Ibyc. S151.2); *πολύμυνον* (6); cf. Sa. 44.4, Simon. 10.5, 11.13 W, Barron (1969) 135, Woodbury (1985) 198–9.

¹⁰⁰ Fowler (1987) 36–7, in a diachronic survey of allusion to epic in lyric: 'this poem is the first certain example we have encountered where the passage imitated must be recalled by the audience in order to understand the point of the imitation; the mind's eye has to look two places at once.'

¹⁰¹ Cf. Hutchinson (2001) 244–6, Dougherty (2001) 25–6, Steiner (2005) 348, Wilkinson (2013) 72, Budelmann (forthcoming); compare and contrast Hardie (2013) 10–11, 25.

Much of the extant text of Ibycus' 'Polycrates Ode' is taken up by an elaborate sort of *praeteritio* as the poet sings at length of what he does not want to sing of, namely the martial themes of the Trojan war (10–15):

νῦ]ν δέ μοι οὔτε ξειναπάτ[α]ν Π[άρι]ν
 ..] ἐπιθύμιον οὔτε τανί[σφ]υρ[ον]
 ὕμ]νῃν Κασσάνδραν
 Πρι]άμοιό τε παῖδας ἄλλου[ς]
 Τρο]ίας θ' ὑψιπύλοιο ἀλώε[ι]μο]ν
 ἄμ]αρ ἀνώνυμον.

Now it [was] not my desire to sing of host-deceiving Paris or slender-ankled Cassandra and the other children of Priam and the unspeakable day when high-gated Troy was captured.

'It was not now my desire to sing X' (10–11) here implies 'because someone has already sung X'.¹⁰² 'Now' (10) refers not just to the present occasion of performance or one moment within a performance but to a particular moment in literary history (cf. Pind. O. 9.5, I. 2.9). Pindar's tale of Bellerophon O. 13.60–92 shows a comparable interest in evoking Homeric epic while avoiding substantial direct overlap in subject matter (IV.4). Ibycus offers as paradigms of fame Zeuxippus and Troilus (36–45), younger heroes whose fame in the real world could not have matched that of the older Iliadic heroes like Achilles and Agamemnon previously mentioned.¹⁰³ Yet these relatively minor figures' glory is perpetuated within Ibycus' own poem, which selects for the focus of its praise qualities different from those generally lionized in martial epic (cf. Sa. 44). Perhaps, as in Pindar's *Pythian* 6 (IV.3), Ibycus' younger heroic subject reflects his own epigonal relationship to literary precedent. In any event, his poem is, like so many Pindaric odes, to be understood alongside previous poetry and remembered within a tradition.

The closing verses of this work move briskly forward from the distant past to the immediate present, a chronological trajectory fundamental to fifth-century epinician narrative.¹⁰⁴ Ibycus promises

¹⁰² Cf. Pind. N. 4.89–90, 5.53–7, Bundy (1972) 66, Noussia-Fantuzzi (2015) 443.

¹⁰³ Cingano (1989) 31–2.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. e.g. Pind. P. 6.43–5, H. S. Mackie (2003) 62–3.

his addressee a share of the same fame which ancient heroes still enjoy (46–8):

τοῖς μὲν πέδα κάλλεος αἰὲν
καὶ σύ, Πολύκρατες, κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔξεῖς,
ὥς κατ' αἰοιδᾶν καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος.

These difficult lines may be translated thus: 'among whom you, too,¹⁰⁵ O Polycrates, will forever have undying fame for beauty, just as my fame [exists] because of song.'¹⁰⁶ Polycrates will enjoy fame for beauty alongside ancient heroes as the poet will enjoy fame for poetic excellence alongside Homer.¹⁰⁷ Ibycus can confidently predict his addressee's glory *because* of his own glory as a poet, which already exists thanks to poems like this and will also be perpetuated alongside Polycrates' glory through this particular poem.¹⁰⁸ The author's actual reputation, which had already brought him to the Samian court, is highly relevant to the poem that he produces for his patron (cf. Pind. O. 1.115b–6). The 'Polycrates Ode', like so many Pindaric epinicians, presents itself as the product of a celebrated author and anticipates being remembered as such.

As often in Pindar, a closing future verb evokes future reception (ἐξεῖς, 47), but direct address ties the poem to a moment of face-to-face debut performance, which is to a certain degree preserved within the text (cf. B. 3.90–8). The young Polycrates will be verbally conjured into presence again and again. Lasting fame contrasts with time-bound, age-specific beauty, which is the source of that fame (cf. O. 10.95–105). Ibycus, like Pindar, makes the ability of his work to travel through time a central theme for anyone who experiences his words.

¹⁰⁵ Against the punctuation of the papyrus, *πέδα* (46, *sic*) should be taken as a preposition governing *τοῖς* (46) and not as the equivalent of *μέτεστι*. The latter construction (espoused by e.g. Péron (1982) 39–40, Gianotti (1973) 407, Natale (2009) 61) yields quasi-Platonic sense alien to archaic lyric. In precisely what sense could Troilus be said to have a share in beauty forever? Cf. Gerber (1970) 213, Woodbury (1985) 203–5, Hutchinson (2001) 253–4, Wilkinson (2013) 84.

¹⁰⁶ ἐμὸν κλέος (Ibyc. S151.48) responds to *σύ* ... κλέος (47). *καί* (48) emphasizes the parallel. *ὥς κατ' αἰοιδᾶν καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος* (48) is less likely to mean 'to the extent of my song and fame'. This would have to be, I think, an odd hendiadys for 'the fame of my song'; I do not know of a parallel. The meaning of *ὥς* (48) would also be unclear. Contrast Snell (1961) 54, 56, Barron (1965) 135, Gianotti (1973) 408. In line 48 we should understand 'is' rather than 'will be'. This is more normal Greek and here makes a key rhetorical point (cf. Woodbury (1985) 204 n. 29).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Simon. 11.15–25 W, Pind. I. 4.35–45, B. 13 *passim*.

¹⁰⁸ Compare and contrast Goldhill (1991) 118.

D. Common considerations

Besides the textual traces of the rhetoric of permanence which have occupied us so far, there are also some more general forms of evidence which support the notion that early lyric poets consciously participated in a tradition and hoped for their work to outlast its first utterance. Many travelled practising their craft.¹⁰⁹ Many echo the work of earlier poets. It is not difficult to imagine that one's work will travel when one has travelled abroad spreading one's own work; it is not hard to imagine that one's work will last when one has received the lasting work of predecessors. Furthermore, motifs specific to non-hexameter genres that appear in geographically diverse poets suggest that they drew on the shared property of a tradition. Consider what might be termed the *ῥύψασπις* theme. Though loosing one's shield in battle was doubtless a common enough experience, the several appearances of this shameful phenomenon in early homodiegetic poetry are better explained through convention and/or imitation rather than unmediated reportage of reality.¹¹⁰ Perhaps already Anacreon (381b), like Horace (*Carm.* 2.7.9–10) after him, evoked a lyric topos as a topos by claiming to have dropped his shield and fled. The same holds for his erotic poems that begin with *δηῦτε*, 'once again', and recall a situation recurrent not only within his own oeuvre but also within a tradition of erotic lyric (see Mace (1993)).

Finally, one must come to grips with the brute fact that we do have lyric texts to read in the first place.¹¹¹ Theories of precisely faithful oral transmission for Greek lyric are insufficiently grounded in empirical comparative evidence.¹¹² If this poetry was transmitted to us through an oral tradition reaching across time and space, then we

¹⁰⁹ See E. L. Bowie (2009) 118–35, Stewart (2016) 209.

¹¹⁰ Archil. 5, Alc. 401b, Anac. 381b; compare and contrast Rösler (1980) 110–12, J. M. Smith (2015).

¹¹¹ Compare and contrast Rösler (1980) 40, Bowie (1981) 49–56, Powell (2002) 192–4, 144–5, M. L. West (2011–13) i.173, Ford (2003) 20, Garner (2011) 416–17, Janko (2015) 23–7.

¹¹² See Lord (1995) ch. 2 and 7; cf. Finnegan (1977) 73–86, 135–53. Contrast e.g. Hinge (2006) 305–6 on Alcman. A continuous tradition of writing Alcman's poems more plausibly explains the linguistic data which Hinge sets out; cf. Ucciardello (2008). When so much effort and expense were put into performing these poems (cf. Alcman 1.64–9, 3.71–2), it is easy to suppose that some effort and expense were put into preserving them.

would not expect to find in the remains of various authors, as we do, much linguistic detail most at home in one particular time and place.¹¹³ It is hard to imagine some unknown ancient forbearer of both Jacob Wackernagel and Elias Lönnrot at any point manufacturing an accurate and uniform written text of (at least) ten books of Alcaean lyric from a fluid, multiform oral tradition.¹¹⁴ Within Greek lyric we do not find a degree of verbal repetition which is characteristic of oral lyric. At no point can we see a level of textual variation characteristic of purely oral traditions. Original written texts are the simplest and best explanation for the cohesiveness of style and content in what we know of these poets.

If something like Alcaeus 298, a precisely-worded occasional poem of at least fifty-two lines that recommends stoning Pittacus to death, could not have survived in an oral tradition, then where can we more plausibly locate the impetus for its written preservation than with the poet and his contemporaries? In Alcaeus' day the Greek alphabet had been around for quite some time. All canonical Greek lyric seems to originate from elevated socio-economic contexts in which we would expect to find the most accomplished literacy extant in this period. On one common view of literary history, Alcaeus was in the same chronological neighbourhood as, or preceded by, quite a lot of written poetry. The cases for various early poetic texts hang together and support one another. The fact that we seem to have roughly dateable lyric clustering around the time when literacy was developing in the Greek world (and not from before) confers credibility on the whole structure. Sufficient arguments have not yet been brought forward to shake its basis.

¹¹³ Cf. Alc. 249 and *Carm. Conv.* 891 PMG, Nagy (2004) 39. Alexandrian scholars had their own doctrines about dialect, but it is not just dialect that marks out these texts. Consider, for example, the absence of the dual or the lack of later vocabulary like *αὐτουργός* (P. Köln XI 430) or the presence of forms like *καταΐσσαιτο* (Alc. 296b.2) in the Lesbian poets.

¹¹⁴ Nagy (2004) 40 posits on the basis of Isoc. *Ep.* 8.4 that 'scholars in fourth-century Athens were engaged in research on producing a dialectally accurate "script" for teaching the songs of Alcaeus and Sappho.' This is a lot to infer. Isocrates more probably offers a eulogistically dressed-up description of a teacher. The pre-Alexandrian P. Köln XI 429, published in 2004, imposes new restrictions on the scope of the textual intervention that can be attributed to Alexandrian scholars. I am not convinced by those who argue that the papyri preserve different versions of the 'Old Age Poem'. For discussion and bibliography see now Budelmann (forthcoming).

The act of committing a work to writing and preserving the text will have reflected contemporary perceptions of value. Alcman (148i), Sappho (P. Köln XI 429 1.3–8), and Ibycus (S151.48) all speak of their contemporaries' regard for their skill and a reputation already established during their lifetime.¹¹⁵ What was the point of committing a poem to writing if not in order to facilitate later reception in some form? The sheer amount of lyric that completed the long journey to Hellenistic Alexandria from across the early Greek world, dwarfing the output of some later 'bookish' poets,¹¹⁶ as well as the content of the poems themselves, suggest that these were textualized over time, not in one fell swoop. Poets, then, will have lived for some time with the possibility of communicating with secondary audiences.

E. Conclusions: development and continuity

One should not a priori rule out the possibility that early lyric poets envisioned a secondary reception for their work and conceived of this as an important part of their authorial projects. We simply do not have better evidence for the authorial projects of these poets than their surviving fragments. Textual evidence must take precedence over generalizations about 'predominantly oral cultures'. From the earliest period from which substantial and reliable evidence survives, diffusion and permanence are important to expressed ideals of lyric authorship. The excellent lyric poet is the one who creates works valued and remembered through space and time. It is reasonable to suppose that all of the lyric poets whose work lasted into the Hellenistic period and reached Alexandria—and also acquired a traceable reputation well before that—were trying to be excellent lyric poets, however their more-or-less fictionalized and rhetorically shaped authorial personae may have related to reality.

¹¹⁵ Alcidas (fr. 13 Avezzù = Arist. *Rhet.* 1398b) might attest to institutional and even cultic honours for Sappho established in Mytilene by the late fifth or early fourth century (cf. Isoc. *Ep.* 8.4, D. Clay (2004) 28, 150–1).

¹¹⁶ See Latacz (1990) 258 for the estimated number of verses in the Alexandrian editions of archaic poets; cf. Pöhlmann (1990) 18–19, Colesanti (2014) 96–100. The ten (or more) rolls of Alcaeus' Alexandrian edition will have outweighed the works of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius combined. It must be noted, however, that some 'bookish' poets valorized limited production (Catul. 22.3: *longe plurimos facit versus*, of the poetaster Sufferus).

As we have seen, the rhetoric of permanence does not reliably track with the passage of time. Doubtless works of exclusively parochial orientation existed in all periods, but that does not mean that all poetry was like that before a certain point in time.¹¹⁷ Whatever pragmatic purposes some poems served in the immediate context of their production and initial reception, they were not, and were not conceived to be, entirely circumscribed by those circumstances.

Modern scholarly interpretation should take account of how archaic lyric texts take account of secondary audiences. If secondary reception is important to this sort of poetry, then talk of ‘the performance context’ might start to look misconceived and talk of ‘the original performance context’ might lose something of its urgency. In reading archaic lyric we are not imperfectly returning to a one-off concert but rather replaying an artefact designed to be replayed. To unpack satisfactorily the implications of this assertion would require another monograph.

In stressing continuity, as I have done so far in this section, one runs the risk of misleadingly downplaying change. The following paragraphs and coda seek to redress this imbalance. The novel centrality of the rhetoric of permanence in Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides is best explained not by a fundamental shift in the relation of lyric to its audiences but rather by a shift in the speaker’s relation to his subjects and patrons. Poets and performers were rewarded for their services from very early on (*Od.* 8.473–81), but we can discern meaningful changes in the shape of poetic careers over time.¹¹⁸ For present purposes, the important development is the emergence of commissioned poems composed by poets of wide repute and dedicated to the praise and glory of various individual patrons and communities throughout the Greek world. For lack of a better term, I refer to this phenomenon as serial patronage. This framework structured the careers of Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides, and we can discern traces of precedent in the testimonia and surviving fragments of Ibycus and Anacreon. It might be helpful to frame these developments in terms of the incipient ‘internationalism’ of the poet’s career.

¹¹⁷ Thgn. 1057–8: αἵται (sc. the Muses) γὰρ τάδ’ ἔδωκαν ἔχειν κεχαρισμένα δῶρα | σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, μέλομεν δ’ ἀμφιπερικτίοσιν. The last word of the quotation is telling.

¹¹⁸ See now Stewart (2016), who stresses continuity over time.

Emphasis on the poet's status as skilled poet and a competitive stance towards others, the two factors which we have found to be consistently associated with the rhetoric of permanence in early archaic lyric, are both deeply implicated in every commissioned composition. In his epinicians Pindar often presents himself as engaging in competition with other eulogists, and this rhetoric doubtless had some basis in reality. His hired task, securing his patron's immortality through an excellent composition, is a topic perennially relevant to these poems. The professional authorial personae of Bacchylides and Pindar are defined in no small part by their ability to accomplish this goal (VII.4).

This is not to say, however, that Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides otherwise belonged to the same world as Alcman. Rising wealth and literacy will have fostered an increasingly interconnected literary landscape and thereby affected the poetry produced within that landscape. Changes in lyric brought about by such gradual, large-scale shifts more probably represented the coherent development of a tradition rather than a fundamental break with the past. Indeed, the rise of serial patronage is more easily understood as a historical phenomenon if previous lyric poets had already amply demonstrated that excellent lyric poems could travel and endure—something well worth paying top dollar for (cf. Pind. *N.* 7.14–16).

3. CODA

The first chapters of this monograph explored Pindar's epinicians as both enacted events and perpetuated traditions. This section has argued that the dimensions of performance and later reception were important to lyric poetry from early on. There seem to be significant degrees of difference, however, in the relative importance of performance and reception to various works. Alcman 3 derives its meaning as literature in no small part from describing physical actions concurrent with its debut choral performance.¹¹⁹ Alcman 1 is in large part *about* the chorus. Matters are generally different with Pindar. The physical actions of the performers are seldom important to the

¹¹⁹ Cf. Carey (2001) 18, Peponi (2007) 355. Pind. fr. 94b.66–70 describes a procession.

meaning of an epinician. Sometimes their very existence makes a vanishingly small contribution. Following Wilamowitz (1922) 280, some have taken *Pythian* 3 to be a 'poetic epistle' not intended for choral performance but rather for private reading. There is no good reason to believe that such a genre was recognized in Pindar's day (Young (1983a) 32), but this misunderstanding derives from a real insight: choral performance does not feature in the text of *Pythian* 3.¹²⁰ A cancelled performance of a choral epinician revel in Syracuse is in a sense replaced by a rite involving poetry often enacted by a maiden chorus near the author's home in Thebes (72–9):¹²¹

τῶι μὲν διδύμας χάριτας
 εἰ κατέβαν ὑγίειαν ἄγων χρυσεάν
 κῶμόν τ' ἀέθλων Πυθίων αἴγλαν στεφάνοις,
 τοὺς ἀριστεύων Φερένικος ἔλεν Κίρραι ποτέ,
 ἀστέρος οὐρανόυ
 φαμί τηλαυγέστερον κείνῳ φάος
 ἐξικόμαν κε βαθὺν πόντον περάσαις.
 ἀλλ' ἐπεύξασθαι μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω
 Μαρτί, τὰν κοῦραι παρ' ἑμὸν πρόθυρον σὺν
 Πανὶ μέλπονται θαμά
 σεμνὰν θεὸν ἐννύχαι.

And if I had disembarked bringing for him [sc. Hieron] two *charites*, golden health and a radiant victory revel for the crowns of the Pythian games which Pherenicus once won when supreme at Cirrha, I affirm that I would have arrived as a light shining further than any star of the sky for that man, having made my way across the deep sea. But I want to pray to the Mother, an august goddess, whom, along with Pan, maidens often at night celebrate with choral song before my front door.

¹²⁰ R. W. B. Burton (1962) 78: 'there is . . . nothing in the poem to indicate that it was . . . intended for public performance.' Nonetheless, 'it seems much more likely that [this ode] was, according to the usual practice, performed by a chorus' (Currie (2005) 259).

¹²¹ Some dispute that *Pythian* 3 celebrates athletic victory; cf. Wilamowitz (1922) 282–3, Robbins (1990), Cingano (1991a). It is one thing to mention a near miss at the games (e.g. *N.* 6.61–3, *B.* 4.11–14), another thing to dedicate an ode to an unmentioned near miss. *P.* 3.63–76 implies that Pindar, under other circumstances, would have celebrated an epinician revel (κῶμόν, 73), probably for past victories. The impossibility of a cure (1–5, 63–7), not an unmentioned athletic failure, cancels this event; cf. Pelliccia (1987) 51, Slater (1988) 59; contrast Robbins (1990) 310–11, Gentili et al. (1995) 416. '*Pythian* 3 is a very special kind of epinician' (Morgan (2015) 20).

Emphasis falls on the celebrated author Pindar composing in his native Thebes at a distance from his subject, not a chorus performing his work before Hieron in Sicily.¹²² The final lines of this ode concentrate on perpetuating the enduring fame of the monarch through an excellent verbal artefact (112–15). Chorality is not really integral to this work as literature. The same could not be said of Alcman 3.

This discussion might seem to be leading towards a certain conclusion: first performance and subsequent reception were dimensions of lyric poetry from very early on, but over time the relative importance of initial performance declined as the importance of later reception rose.¹²³ I do not espouse this position, which may contain some truth and may even accord with Pindar's own views on the history of lyric.¹²⁴ The mind's impulse is to connect scattered points of data into a unifying, satisfying narrative. The unexciting truth is that we do not have the requisite evidence to trace the relative importance of initial performance and later reception in lyric poetry from Alcman to Pindar. As long as a trickle of new papyri continues to invite one to revise some basic assumptions about early Greek lyric, it might be most prudent to abstain from grand generalization. One can still, however, sketch significant points of contact and discontinuity between Pindar and his generic predecessors. In this project much work remains to be done.

If we cannot write a full history of archaic Greek lyric, we can at least describe Pindar's sense of literary history. To this task we now turn.

¹²² Cf. *P.* 4.298–9, *I.* 2.45–8, 6.74–5. The speaker of *P.* 3.77–9 is Pindar; D'Alessio (1994a) 139, F. Ferrari (2000a) 239; contrast Slater (1971) 144–5, (1988) 59. This must be the same 'I' who would have arrived from overseas (75–6). The chorus, a group, could not speak of something happening *παρ' ἐμὸν πρόθυρον* (78). There is nothing in epinician comparable with *ἐμοί τις ἦν | ἐν γένει* (Eur. *Alc.* 903–4, uttered by the chorus).

¹²³ Ford (2002) 157: 'an increasing awareness of the lasting powers of texts supported the conception of song as a stable work rather than a performance'; cf. e.g. Steiner (1994) 87.

¹²⁴ See VI.3 on *Olympian* 10 and VIII.2.C on *Isthmian* 2.

Part Two

Pindar and the Traditions of Lyric

Introduction to Part Two

We need an essay on the ancient and modern in Pindar intended to reveal his thought on how the central tradition is or ought to be preserved and developed. It is one of his two or three principal themes and it is probable that all his themes meet in this one.

Bundy (1972) 88 n. 109¹

Pindar is the first substantially surviving Greek poet in whose work literary history figures as a pervasive and explicit theme.² As M. L. West (2011-13) ii.130 writes, ‘we get the impression he had in his head the materials for a history of early Greek poetry and music.’ Pindar alludes to previous authors by name (*O.* 9.1), advertises his adherence to (*N.* 6.53-4) or scepticism of (*N.* 7.20-3) literary precedent, and defines himself against the canonical representative of another genre (*P.* 2.54-6). Bacchylides displays a no less robust intimacy with older literature,³ but his own brand of creative intertextuality tends to be less explicit and less historically inflected. This is related to differences in the role of the narratorial voice within these poets’ work, a frequently observed point of divergence.

¹ This quote from Bundy (1972) was originally published in *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* by the University of California Press. It is reproduced as an epigraph with permission of UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS in the format Educational/Instructional Program via Copyright Clearance Centre.

² Cf. Spelman (forthcoming b). Kurke (1991) 259: ‘Pindar’s greatest innovation is his self-conscious traditionality.’ This pithy formulation may reflect the illusory result of the vagaries of textual survival. With Wordsworth, one wishes for ‘one precious, tender-hearted scroll | of pure Simonides’ (*Upon the Same Occasion* [1819]). Cf. Simon. 11, 19-20 W, 542, 564, 581, 602.

³ Consider the highly complex reworking of *Il.* 15.624-9 at B. 13.121-40, on which see Fearn (2012) 334-7 and Most (2012) 257-8.

Nemean 8 exemplifies Pindar's awareness of earlier poetry as a category (19–21):

ἵσταμαι δὴ ποσσὶ κούφοις,
 ἀμπνέων τε πρὶν τι φάμεν.
 πολλὰ γὰρ πολλῶι λέλεκται, νεαρὰ δ' ἐξευ-
 ρόντα δόμεν βαράνῳ
 ἐς ἔλεγχον, ἅπας κίνδυνος.

I stand on light feet and catch my breath before saying something. For many things have been said in many ways, but to discover new things and give them to the touchstone for testing is dangerous in every respect.

In a moment of abrupt self-arrest, the speaker catches his breath before entering in on his central task of praising recent victory. *πολλὰ γὰρ πολλῶι λέλεκται* (20), and in particular the perfect verb, show that many previous treatments of various subjects are still remembered. Pindar's ode for recent victory defines itself as novel against a body of older works about the past.⁴

Why is Pindar so interested in literary history? One might think of two interrelated sorts of reasons, those pertaining to his historical moment and those pertaining to his individual poetics. In Pindar's day the rising importance of written texts and a canon of preserved works may have encouraged the idea of literature as a continuous, evolving human practice which could be understood through cohesive narratives. Such general considerations, however, are far from sufficient. The target of much of Pindar's literary history is not preserved texts but rather musical inventions and the origins of various types of songs. Bacchylides, moreover, belongs to the same era but does not display an equally robust interest in mapping the literary past. Pindar's concern with historical narratives must be understood first and foremost as a rhetorical strategy designed to shape the way in which audiences experience his work; his poems are interested in inscribing themselves into traditions.

An earlier section touched on the much-discussed topic of Pindar's engagement with older hexameter poetry and argued that his

⁴ Köhnken (1971) 24–6, Miller (1982), and Lattmann (2010) 21–3 persuasively argue that Pindar's new subject is recent victory, not a novel version of mythological topics; contrast O'Higgins (1987), Nisetich (1989) 19, Burnet (2005) 171 n. 21. Bulman (1992) 44 proposes a compromise, which I adopt: in the immediate context the reference is to recent victory, but in retrospect one may understand reference to Pindar's engagement with Trojan epic.

relationship to Homer should be understood within the framework of an immanent literary history (IV.4). The following three chapters pursue related themes and elucidate Pindar's place in the lyric landscape in particular. The topic has not received much attention in its own right. While his engagement with epic is an established subfield in scholarship, Pindar is not often studied against the background of previous and contemporary lyric.⁵ He capitalizes on his audiences' familiarity with other lyric to an extent that has perhaps not yet been adequately recognized. His poems use related poetry to tell stories about themselves and their place in the world.⁶

The overarching context of a shared literary culture pervades Pindar's work. The texts themselves provide a rich but relatively unexplored source of evidence for reconstructing this context. By examining different sorts of references and allusions across the corpus, one can discern a coherent view of the poetic world, both past and present. Understanding Pindar entails understanding an immanent literary history that reaches into and shapes his present. Chapter VI explores the beginnings of epinician in history and as represented within Pindar's odes. Chapter VII examines the more recent history of epinician as a living social practice in Pindar's day. Chapter VIII expands the scope of inquiry beyond epinician to study the lyric past in Pindar most generally.

The concerns of these final three chapters link with the concerns of the first five. Pindar's vision of the future of his own work is often shaped through engagement with older works which had lasted down to his day. The dynamics of canonicity are central to his poetry, which looks back to the past and forward to its own future, often simultaneously. For Pindar, as for later authors, being a master of the poetic past legitimizes a claim to be a leading figure in the present and to be remembered as part of a tradition in the future. The very fact that the victory odes engage with a wide variety of other poetry supports the idea that they are to be interpreted within a literary culture stretching through space and time.

A final word about methodology is in order. Throughout the following chapters I will sometimes be interested in exploring how

⁵ Cf. Rawles (2012) 3. Exceptions include Carey (1995), (2000), Pavese (1997), and Hutchinson (2001).

⁶ Hinds (1998) 133 writes that 'every allusion made by a poet . . . mobilizes its own ad hoc literary historical narrative.'

intertextuality functions as a means of communication between the poet and his audiences.⁷ From early on, as most scholars would agree, melic poets closely engage with hexameter works; interactions within melic poetry are less frequently posited.⁸ Nonetheless, Pindar, at least, sometimes makes detailed, specific allusions to older lyric poetry, much as he makes such allusions to older hexameter works.⁹ Some might be sceptical that this sort of intertextuality between lyric poems was a realistic interpretative possibility for fifth-century audiences. ‘The whole question of archaic intertextuality needs further work’ (Fowler (2004b) 230). A few general considerations should be kept in mind for present purposes.

Various probable allusions mutually re-enforce each other. My arguments thus have cumulative force. The sceptic should reserve judgement. Uncontroversial allusions support the possibility of similar connections elsewhere. For illustrative purposes one may cite Pindar’s citation of Lampon’s citation of Hesiod *Works and Days* line 412 at *Isthmian* 6.66–8. Audiences were expected to know the Hesiodic line well enough to identify the original through the

⁷ Pfeijffer (1999c) 43: ‘deliberate intertextuality implies a knowledge of the text quoted or alluded to which is shared by the speaker and his addressee . . . Deliberate intertextuality is a means of communication.’

⁸ Sappho and Alcaeus may have known each other’s work, but the most direct pieces of evidence are problematic: Sa. 137 (Page (1955) 106–9, F. Ferrari (2010) 75–80) and Alc. 384 (Tsomis (2001) 92–6, Yatromanolakis (2007) 169–71). Sa. 16 and Alc. 42 look somehow related; cf. e.g. Rissman (1983) 58 n. 26. Anacreon (358, 376, 381b, 395) may allude to Sappho and Alcaeus. Simon. 564 cites Stesichorus as an authority on a par with Homer. B. 9.27–9 may look to Sa. 96.6–9 (Fearn (2003) 362–4). Danielewicz (2006) proposes that B. fr. 20a.12 looks to Sappho’s ‘Old Age Poem’. B. fr. 20b.13 may look to Alcaeus 140 (Fearn (2007) 66). If we had more early lyric we would see more connections within it.

⁹ This note gathers some potential allusions to older lyric in Pindar which are not discussed elsewhere in this work. Pindar’s treatment of Geryon (fr. 81, 169a.6–8, 15–17) looks indebted to Stesichorus’ *Geryoneis* (Bornmann (1978)). Pind. *O.* 10.15–16 may look to Stesichorus’ *Cycnus* (e.g. Hubbard (1989)). Pind. *Pae.* 4.50–1 (ἔα, φρήν, κυπάρι|σον, ἔα δὲ νομόν Περιδάϊον) may echo Archilochus (ἔα Πάρον καὶ σῦκα κείνα καὶ θαλάσσιον βίον, 116; cf. Rutherford (2001a) 290). The allusion would be pointed: Archilochus left Paros fleeing poverty (Archil. 295); Euxantius, turning down a life of wealth (Pind. *Pae.* 4.46–8), retains his ancestral home out of piety. Pindar’s poetry exalts Ceos; Archilochus disparages his own homeland. Pind. *N.* 10.64–5 (καὶ μέγα ἔργον ἐμήσαντ’ ὠκέως | καὶ πάθον δεινόν) may look to Alcman (ἄλαστα δὲ | ἔργα πάσον κακὰ μηχανέμενοι, 1.34–5; cf. Robbins (1994) 15 n. 46). Pind. fr. 75.14–15 may look to Alc. 296b.3–4 (Spelman (2014a) 55 n. 21). D’Alessio (2006) 20–1 postulates a plausible connection between Pind. *N.* 9.27 (ἐν γὰρ δαιμονίοις φόβους φεύγοντι καὶ παῖδες θεῶν) and Archilochus’ ‘Telephus Poem’ (μοῖρα θεῶν ἐφόβει, 7; παῖδες τ’ ἄθανάτων, 14).

rephrasing. While not dismissing the importance of reading (I.4), we should conceive of Pindar's contemporary audiences as knowing of hexameter poetry in large part through rhapsodic performances (cf. *N.* 2.1–3, *I.* 4.39) and knowing of other sorts of poetry in large part through amateur performances, including their own renditions (cf. *N.* 4.13–22). Knowledge of older lyric may have been concentrated among the aristocratic strata of Pindar's audiences, but there is no *prima facie* reason to assume a radical qualitative difference between their knowledge of these two types of texts. Some scholars are strangely at once keen on detecting fine-grained echoes of epic poetry in Pindar but argue away from allusion in the case of more extensive congruencies with older lyric. There may be a bad sort of balkanization of the mind here. We should not allow the vagaries of textual survival and our own hierarchies of genres to prejudice our interpretations.

Pindar's claims to immortalize his subject will have been predicated in part upon the precedent of older lyric texts which had already achieved something like canonical status. It might seem odd to suppose that, while Herodotus and Old Comedy display and presume substantial knowledge of lyric poets older than Pindar,¹⁰ these same poets were not already well known in Pindar's day. I doubt that somehow and for some reason Alcaeus was 'rediscovered' in late-fifth-century Athens; we can more plausibly suppose a continuous reception of Alcaeus' poetry and remain open to the possibility that Pindar represents an early witness to this reception. I will argue that he does.

A certain sort of detailed intertextuality, which we are accustomed to observe in later poetry, might appear the more intrinsically plausible the further one moves away from conceptualizing the paradigmatic experience of Pindar's poems in the fifth century as consisting in a single listening lasting perhaps fifteen minutes. Chapter I argued against this approach. In any event, the Athenian comedy staged in the decades after the end of Pindar's career shows that works designed in large part for one-off performance could display a high

¹⁰ Herodotus: Ford (2002) 146–52, S. R. West (2004), Donelli (2016); comedy: Kugelmeier (1996), Hutchinson (2001) 427 n. 1, Carey (2011) 457–60, Spelman (forthcoming b). Clearly a lyric canon of sorts started to crystallize well before the Alexandrian period. It is telling that Wilamowitz (1900) 6, pressing his evidence for the reception of lyric, could (wrongly) argue that the Alexandrian canon represented the only nine poets whose texts had survived. The Alexandrian canon was the authoritative, formal culmination of a long, decentralized process.

degree of intertextual sophistication and closely engage with lyric texts in particular.

One should not conceive of Pindar's audience as a monolith. Doubtless his public encompassed varying levels of literary expertise.¹¹ In order to 'count', whatever that would mean, an intertext does not have to have been perceived by everyone. There is no reason not to be interested in the experience of Pindar's most sophisticated audience members. Indeed, in tracing allusive resonances in Pindar we are not anachronistically using hermeneutic strategies suited to later poetry but rather applying a sort of literary sophistication which these poems explicitly demand from their audiences (VII.3). We underestimate the sophistication of elite literary practices at our peril.

¹¹ Pavlou (2008) 539, D. L. Cairns (2010) 58. Cf. Revermann (2006) on Athenian theatre and Currie (2016) 29 on early epic.

VI

The Epinician Past

Scholarship on genre in archaic lyric has emphasized the artificiality of some later categorizations and the inapplicability of some familiar hermeneutical approaches.¹ Such work has cleared the theoretical ground but has also perhaps deflected attention away from how genre, such as it existed in this period, functions within the texts on a pragmatic level. Pindar's epinicians provide a unique opportunity to observe how genre worked in archaic lyric as a tool of communication between poet and audience on the surface, as it were, of the discourse. Here alone we have a critical mass of comparative evidence. If the operative conceptualization of genre is different from that immanent in later poetry, this only makes the topic a more potentially rewarding object of concerted study.

The idea of genre is related to literary history.² In order for a poem to belong to a type in a certain sense, that type must already exist as a recognized phenomenon. The epinician genre itself is among Pindar's central epinician themes. One is repeatedly reminded that these poems gain their fullest meaning when contextualized against a background of similar works (VII). Such gestures toward generic precedent may be described as 'metatraditional', i.e. as self-reflexive references to the tradition to which these poems belong. This rhetorical strategy is hardly a fifth-century invention,³ but it plays a remarkably prominent role in Pindar. We may enrich our understanding of his victory odes by investigating how he presents

¹ See Harvey (1955), Calame (1974), Rutherford (2001a) 3–17, Carey (2009), Swift (2010) 5–34, Agócs (2012), Maslov (2015) 62–77. "‘Genre’ is really just a type of work' (Hutchinson (2013) 223). Pindar manifestly conceives of the victory ode as a type distinct from, say, wedding songs (*P.* 3.17–19) or erotic lyric (*I.* 2.1–5).

² Cf. Käppel (1992) 8–13, taking a lead from Jauß.

³ Scodel (2002) 65–70 discusses the 'rhetoric of traditionality' in Homeric poetry.

the history of his genre and situates himself within contemporary practices.

Section 1 investigates the historical origins of epinician. Section 2 explores the distant generic past as depicted within Pindar's poems. It is argued that the poet displays a view of the history of his genre compatible with the broad outlines of modern scholarly consensus. Pindar understood that, on the one hand, he had a relatively novel relationship to his audience as a professional author composing literary epinicians on commission and that, on the other hand, he was continuing a long tradition rooted in less sophisticated celebrations. Section 3 builds on the preceding arguments and offers a reading of *Olympian* 9, a poem which is interested in many themes discussed in this chapter.

1. EPINICIAN ORIGINS IN HISTORY: ATHLETICS, IBYCUS, SIMONIDES

The epinician appears fully formed as a genre in Pindar's earliest poems and underwent remarkably little formal development over the course of his career, which spanned more than half a century.⁴ Much the same may be said of Bacchylides. When and why did poems like these first appear? This section discusses possible textual traces of pre-Pindaric epinician and then argues for a certain basic narrative about the historical origins of the genre.

Some Ibycean fragments reveal poems praising athletics but not clearly taking the celebration of victory as their *raison d'être*.⁵ It is possible but not certain that the comastic revel formed the background for some of these works.⁶ We are on firmer ground when

⁴ It is significant that Fogelmark (1972) ch. 1, seeking to date *Nemean* 7 on internal evidence, relies on the criterion of colour terminology. Contrast marked developments in the role of the chorus over the careers of Euripides and Aristophanes.

⁵ Ibyc. S166, S176, S220, S221. See Page (1970) 94–5, Barron (1984) 20–2, Cavallini (1993) 65–7, Carey (2000) 171, Hornblower (2004) 21–2, K. A. Morgan (2012) 46, Rawles (2012) 6–12, 25–7, Wilkinson (2013) 24–7. Tyrtaeus 12.1–4 presumes athletics as a plausible topic of praise but hardly constitutes evidence for poems dedicated to that subject.

⁶ Ibyc. S178 (from the marginal scholia): . νεπικωμα[. A form of (civ)ἐπικωμάζω would be attractive. Did Ibycus use this word or related language in his poem?

we turn to rhetoric. The congruities between the Ibycean and the Pindaric *laudatores* are strong and significant. Consider Ibycus S221: αἰὲν ἐμοὶ πόνος οὗτος εἴη· | αἰ δέ τις βροτῶν μ' ἐνίπτει | νόσφιν . . . ἐγὼν δ' ἔτι μ[εῖζο]ν' αὔχαν | τίθεται περὶ τούτων, 'may this always be my labour. But if some man reproaches me from afar . . . I set down a still greater vaunt about these things.' The speaker eagerly wages a campaign of public praise against notional covert criticism. Core concerns of the Pindaric epinician narrator are implicated here.⁷ Indeed, the very degree of narratorial involvement, both emotional and rhetorical, reminds one of nothing so much as Pindar's victory odes. Ibycus' poem was titled 'Callias' and presumably devoted in no small part to the praise of that individual. Another poem discussed in the preceding part of the same papyrus (S220) shows strong indications of treating athletic subject matter.⁸

In seeking to explain as a historical phenomenon the intricate, developed 'grammar of . . . style' (Bundy (1986) 32) evident in Pindaric epinician, one should take into account different sorts of older poetry, including Ibycus' works, with various sorts of familial resemblances to the victory ode both in form and in content. Pindar's odes self-consciously incorporate elements from a wide variety of older genres of praise poetry broadly conceived⁹ and in a sense contain within themselves much of the diverse melic history which preceded and shaped them. Like tragedy, epinician is a relatively young type of poetry that is generically capacious and voracious. Pindar is interested in evoking older lyric genres in his victory odes; one might interpret this as a strategy to invest a relatively recent genre with an air of traditionality.

⁷ The speaker reacts to a hypothetical anonymous attack with greater praise: O. 8.54–9. πόνος of the speaker's task: N. 3.12, 7.74. Wish to continue praising: O. 1.108–11. Covert criticism: O. 1.47. Blame attaching to the speaker: O. 1.35, P. 1.82. With αὔχα (Ibyc. S221) cf. Pind. P. 1.92, N. 9.7, I. 5.51; with αἰέ (Ibyc. S221) cf. P. 9.87–8, I. 5.19–20.

⁸ Ibyc. S220.19–22: ἀνερ[. . .]ν ποδῶν . . . πόδ]ας ἐν τῇ ἀθλ[ή]σει . . . ὁ γάρ νικ[. . .]. The lemma (printed in bold) and accompanying commentary apparently refer to victory in a race. Earlier Ibycus' thought is glossed as possibly this: γλυκερὰ γίν[εται ἡ καύχη]ς ἐάν ἐπιτύχη (17–19). This suggests a poem reacting to victory. The generalized conditional, presumably with transparent relevance to a particular situation, calls to mind Pindaric parallels: e.g. N. 7.11–12, I. 5.22–5.

⁹ Kurke (1988) 101, Power (2000), Currie (2005) 21–4, J. M. Bremer (2008), Budelmann (2012) 189. Threnody: I. 8.56a–65; erotic praise: I. 2.1–5; praise of kings: P. 2.13–17; poetry for hero cult: I. 5.26–35 (cf. Alc. 7, Pind. fr. 52p); wedding song: N. 5.22–5; maiden song: P. 11.1–16; sympotic praise: O. 1.14–18; hymn: e.g. N. 2.1–5, 24–5.

The genus of praise poetry was older than the species of epinician, which preserves some elements of earlier forms.¹⁰ Pindar's non-epinician works display rhetorical patterns shared with his epinicians and sometimes mention athletic victories (*N.* 11.19–21, fr. 94b.41–8, *Pae.* 4.21–4.). Both Alcman 1 and Ibycus S166 look like they feature the basic building blocks of Pindar's victory odes: universal gnomai (*Alcm.* 1.36–9; *Ibyc.* S166.10–14), mythological narratives (1.1–35; S166.15–19), references to performance (1.39–40; S166.5), and praise of contemporaries (1.40–59; S166.23–6). Alcman, Ibycus, and Pindar all seem interested in swift and challenging movements of thought between apparently disparate topics.¹¹ One might think about something like a 'supergenre' of choral praise or praise of contemporaries, but we lack the requisite textual evidence to give real substance to this category, let alone trace its development in any detail.

The fragments of Ibycus attest to poems genealogically related to Pindar's victory odes but not certainly themselves epinicians in a strict or developed sense. With Simonides matters become more definite. His epinician fragments suggest works fundamentally similar in content and expression to those of Pindar and Bacchylides. Some book fragments express jocular tones alien to Pindar's dignified memorials,¹² but papyrus fragments, preserved through merest chance, reveal a type of poetry that is continued, and presumably self-consciously continued, in Pindar and Bacchylides' preserved epinicians. Simonides 511 fr. 1a–b is 'epinician praise as we know it, straight out of the tin', as Rawles (2013) 200 writes (with questionable connotations of perfunctory iteration). A grand opening links the *laudandi* to the gods and the site of athletic victory (fr. 1a), the event motivating the ode. A local myth evidently followed (fr. 1b with Budelmann (forthcoming)). There is little in this fragment for which Pindaric and Bacchylidean parallels do not readily present

¹⁰ Compare *Alc.* 332 with *Pind. N.* 9.50–2 (exhortation to drink within sympotic celebration); *Ibyc.* S151.46–8 with *Pind. O.* 10.86–105 (encomia guaranteeing immortality); *Ibyc.* S166.23–6, 36–7 with *Pind. O.* 10.99–104 (praise of beauty and athletics). Note also: *Ibyc.* S257a.6–8 and 288 with *Pind. fr.* 123.14–15 (erotic praise); *Alcm.* 1 with *Pind. fr.* 94b (*parthenia* praising contemporaries).

¹¹ Alcman moves from battlefield gore (1.34–5) to Spartan maidens (39–40). Pindar moves from Locrian maidens (*P.* 2.18–20) to the underworld (21–3). Puelma (1977) observes many helpful parallels between Pindar and Alcman.

¹² Simon. 519 fr. 92 (cf. *Pind. O.* 4.4–5, 10.98); 507 (cf. *Pind. O.* 6.56–7, fr. 105a, B. 6.1–2); 509 (cf. *Pind. P.* 6.43–5). See further Bagordo (1999), Trombetta (1999), Rawles (2013), Nicholson (2016a) 228–9.

themselves.¹³ It would be overhasty to credit Simonides with 'inventing' epinician, but he represents a significant *terminus*. His earliest dateable victory ode is perhaps from 520,¹⁴ around twenty-two years before Pindar's earliest securely dateable victory ode, *Pythian* 10, composed for a victory in 498.

In conjunction with such limited primary textual evidence one can hypothesize a suitably rudimentary historical narrative. Probably literary epinician was an offshoot of praise poetry whose fortunes rose with the fortunes of major athletic victory.¹⁵ The epinicians of Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides belong to a certain historical moment. Epinician is not among the various types of lyric, all tied to the ageless rhythms of communal life, already attested in the *Iliad*.¹⁶ It is difficult to imagine that epinicians like those of the canonical fifth-century poets predated a degree of interest and outlay in Panhellenic athletics which cannot be plausibly retrojected into time immemorial.¹⁷

Athletics were a traditional source of social distinction.¹⁸ People may long have celebrated success therein with garlands (cf. Pind. *P.* 9.123–5) and other mementos (cf. *I.* 1.19–20), music (cf. *Il.* 22.391–4), dance (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 23), drinking (cf. *Il.* 6.528), verbal congratulations (cf. Pind. *P.* 4.240–1), and simple songs like Archilochus' 'proto-epinician' (324 spur.), all of which find a place in the background of Pindar's poems. Such matters are relatively organic human responses to success. Dazzlingly complex works dedicated to recent athletic victory and composed by a professional poet of broad repute for choral performance in the victor's home community some time after the games and for an extended reception afterwards were very likely, in relative terms, 'something absolutely new' (J. M. Bremer

¹³ Poltera (2008) 99–100 gathers parallels. In line 3 I suggest δέρεκε]ται: cf. Hes. *Theog.* 81–2 with M. L. West (1966) 182, Pind. *P.* 3.85–6, Aesch. *Ag.* 951–2. Schneider's δέδεκε]ται does not find a parallel for the perfect in many attested instances of the reception motif.

¹⁴ Cf. Molyneux (1992) 33–42, Rawles (2012) 12 n. 32.

¹⁵ The division of Pindar's epinicians into four books for the four major games reflects an ad hoc strategy of convenience, as shown by the different organization of the epinicians of Simonides and Bacchylides: see Lowe (2007). Nonetheless, Pindar's Alexandrian edition reflects a tendency for major victory to motivate commissions.

¹⁶ See Dalby (1998), Richardson (2011).

¹⁷ Cf. K. A. Morgan (1993) 10–11, R. Thomas (2007) 164–6.

¹⁸ οὐ μὲν γὰρ μείζον κλέος ἀνέρος, ὄφρα κεν ῥῆξιν, | ἢ ὅ τι ποσσὶν τε ῥέξῃ καὶ χερσὶν ἔῃκιν (*Od.* 8.147–8); τοκεῦσι δὲ κύδος ὀπάξει (Hes. *Theog.* 438), both of athletics.

(1990) 42).¹⁹ Over the sixth century there is a shift in athletic monuments towards elaborate pieces celebrating individuals; this may be plausibly, if only loosely, connected with the rise of epinician (R. Thomas (2007) 152–7; cf. Nobili (2016) ch. 3). Antiquity does not transmit to us the name of a historical pre-Simonidean epinician poet.

This sketch tallies suspiciously well with Pindar's poems. Various forms of indirect evidence together support an abductive case. Pindar viewed serial patronage as a recent development. *Isthmian* 2 contrasts the modern Muse who sells praise poems with older poets who praised beautiful youths spontaneously. Traceable allusions suggest that 'poets of old' (*Oἱ μὲν πάλαι*, *I.* 2.1) include Alcaeus but also Anacreon (*VIII.2.C.*). The latter was still alive relatively close to the beginning of Pindar's career.²⁰ The evidence from the Pindaric corpus for his view of the poetic past is compatible with the later tradition that Simonides was the first to compose for a fee.²¹ Pindar depicts the much older Archilochus (*P.* 2.54–6) and perhaps also Homer (fr. 265) not as flourishing professionals like himself but rather as materially indigent. In extant epinician only one broadly comparable work is attributed to a named poet older than Simonides. Archilochus' song of triumph (*O.* 9.1–2), however, has little in common with literary epinician—as Pindar emphasizes (*VI.3*). It may be some sense of generic propriety that prevents Pindar and Bacchylides from referring to epinician poets earlier than Simonides as they refer to many other older poets, but the fact that earlier epinician poets are not attested elsewhere militates against this.²²

Additional indirect evidence for a dearth of preserved pre-Simonidean epinician poetry might be sought in the fact that Pindar's patrons sometimes requested commemoration for a deceased member

¹⁹ Cf. Kurke (1991) 258–9, Power (2000) 76.

²⁰ Hutchinson (2001) 260 concludes that 'one might be reluctant to credit [Anacreon] living much past 500.' *πάλαι* (Pind. *I.* 2.1) might then include the relatively recent past: cf. *P.* 11.46, fr. 94b.42, Ar. *Nub.* 555–6, Pl. *Prt.* 316d.5, Pavlou (2012b) 101.

²¹ See Woodbury (1968) 535 n. 11 and Stewart (2016) 218–19 for testimonia. The idea of Simonides as the first to compose for a fee may reflect the common and problematic ancient literary historical method of crowning as *protos heuretes* the first to provide textual evidence for a phenomenon.

²² At Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.159–63 Orpheus performs a choral epinician (Fränkel (1968) 164). The lack of any explicit, specific, and obvious reference in Pindar to Bacchylides and Simonides (and vice versa) is remarkable and may reflect a deliberate strategy of silence. Pindar and Bacchylides composed odes for the same victory which do not overtly acknowledge each other (compare and contrast Morrison (2011a) 242–5).

of a previous generation who was victorious in the games. This *prima facie* suggests that an epinician poem celebrating these men had not survived. In all three instances, Pindar asserts the durability of his work by likening it to a funerary monument (*N.* 4.79–90, 8.44–50, *I.* 8.61–2). One of these poems, *Nemean* 8, programmatically claims to celebrate deceased father and living son (16). It answers their shared need for glory (cf. *χρεῖαι*, 42). The mythical *exemplum* of Ajax, whose merits were forgotten (*λάθα*, 24) because he lacked eloquence, has relevance not only for the victor but also for his father, who likewise would be forgotten if not for Pindar's eloquent ode.²³

These considerations do not prove that previous generations were ignorant of literary epinicians. Perhaps being celebrated once just would not have been enough. Perhaps the men posthumously celebrated by Pindar did not elect to commission a similar work during their lifetime. A literary ode did not always follow on a major victory. Theaeus of Argos evidently commissioned *Nemean* 10 to celebrate multiple Panhellenic victories as well as local triumphs (25–8).²⁴ It is plausible that epinicians dedicated to his earlier major successes did not already exist.

Nemean 4 is the only ode which might depict the reperformance of a preserved epinician poem from a previous generation. Perhaps, however, it instead refers to the possibility of a new amateur composition. Mention of his commission (*κυνθέμενος*, 75) leads Pindar to mention the victor's request to celebrate his deceased relative Callicles (79–81). After briefly complying (85–8), the poet, through a sort of *recusatio*, delegates the task of further praise to Euphanes, the grandfather of the youthful victor (89–92):²⁵

τὸν Εὐφάνης ἐθέλων γεραιὸς προπάτωρ
αἰέσεται, παῖ, ὁ σός.²⁶

²³ Compare and contrast Carey (1976) 36 and Calabrese De Feo (1984) 127–30. Burnett (2005) 170 n. 18 writes that 'the ode seems to imply that . . . Megas was not granted a song celebration at the time of his victory.' The ode implies only that an epinician had not lasted.

²⁴ *Μοῖκαις τ' ἔδωκ' ἀρόσαι* (*N.* 10.26) refers to the present ode. For the aorist cf. *δέδωκε* (*I.* 7.24) and *ἔζηεν* (*P.* 10.65); for the metaphor cf. *N.* 6.32–4. For the occasion behind *Nemean* 10 see Currie (2011) 271.

²⁵ Bundy (1972) 66 n. 73. As often in later *recusationes*, Pindar here partially does what he ostensibly declines to do; cf. Davis (1991) 28–9. Note *Ibyc.* S151.10–15.

²⁶ At *N.* 4.90 the manuscripts transmit the unmetrical ὁ σός αἰέσεται, παῖ. I print Mommsen's text, as do Turyn (1952), Race (1997), and Henry (2005). On the correction see Itsumi (2009) 296 but also Henry (2011) 176. σός αἰέσεν ποτε, παῖ

ἄλλοις δ' ἄλικες ἄλλοι· τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ἀντιτύχηι,
ἐλπεταί τις ἕκαστος ἐξοχώτατα φάσθαι.

Of him [sc. Callicles] your aged grandfather Euphanes will eagerly sing, my boy. For different people belong to different generations, and each hopes to express best what he has himself encountered.

An adult refers his young addressee to a yet older figure. The aged Euphanes' first-hand experience makes him a better candidate to praise Callicles, who belongs to the same generation. But precisely what will he sing? Currie (2004) 59–60 offers the best arguments for the reperformance of an existing epinician. But the fact that the victor requests Pindar to commemorate the deceased might suggest that an ode fulfilling that function did not already exist. The text offers some support for this inference. The gnome in lines 91–2 reflects on Euphanes, who is, like the Pindaric narrator elsewhere, eager to praise (ἐθέλων, 89).²⁷ ἐλπεται (92) implies that he has a future-directed aspiration to express something which he has not yet expressed (cf. *O.* 1.108–11). ἐξοχώτατα (92) connotes competition with others. This idea is picked up in the wrestling imagery of the following lines (93–6) describing someone²⁸ who would potentially offer new praise of the trainer Melesias. It is reasonable to suppose that Euphanes, too, would produce something new. The future ἀείκεται (90) could here refer to a hypothetical performance.²⁹

However this may be, since Euphanes is surely not motivated by a contract to celebrate his son, *Nemean* 4 presumes the possibility of non-professional praise poetry. Though amateur poetry was evidently available, Pindar's patrons wanted something else. The younger professional Pindar of Thebes, not the older amateur Euphanes of Aegina, was selected to celebrate the recent victory of Timasarchus and compensated for his efforts. Like the Homeric

(Boeckh) may be rejected. Paleographically unattractive, it also yields inferior sense. The aorist lacks consolatory force. γεραίος (89) will refer to someone living, not someone deceased. ἐλπεται (92) looks to the future, which is supported by the scholia (144a, c).

²⁷ Cf. *O.* 7.20, 11.9, Maehler (1982–97) ii.92 on B. 5.14–16.

²⁸ For the indefinite subject, τις of *N.* 4.92, cf. Pind. *N.* 11.13–18, M. L. West (1966) 364, (1978) 143; see Lattmann (2010) 135–6 for other interpretations.

²⁹ Cf. μακρότεροι . . . ἔψοντ' . . . αἰοδαί (*O.* 13.41–2); ἀρέομαι . . . ἐρέω (*P.* 1.75–7). Later *recusationes* and related passages often use futures similarly: see Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 94–5.

epics and other archaic lyric,³⁰ Pindar's victory odes related to similar contemporary poetry which has not been transmitted to us. We can progress some way towards appreciating this vanished background by investigating scattered references in its preserved congeners. Fully understanding Pindar's poems requires developing our sense of what they are not.

2. EPINICIAN ORIGINS IN EPINICIAN: FROM REVEL TO LITERATURE

Modern scholars cannot confidently trace fully fledged literary epinicians back further in time than Simonides. Perhaps Pindar could not either. Yet both scholars and the poet know that epinician celebration is older than professional epinician poetry. Pindar describes recognizably related revels at the sites of the games for his contemporaries (*N.* 10.33–5), their ancestors (*N.* 6.34–8), and also men in ancient times (*O.* 10.73–7). The spontaneous revel (κῶμος) may plausibly be retrojected into a more distant past than the professional choral victory ode. The literary epinician likely evolved (in part) from such events³¹ and self-consciously preserves connections with them. The odes evince a perceived connection with revels by describing their occasion with the same word, κῶμος, and its cognates. One may describe such vocabulary as an epinician 'generic signature' (cf. Rutherford (2001a) 72 on paeans). Literary odes also often more or less explicitly liken themselves to revels at the games. Bacchylides 6, for example, implies strong parallels between earlier celebrations at Olympia (ἄεισάν ποτ' Ὀλυμπίαι, 6)³² and the framing

³⁰ Cf. e.g. J. S. Burgess (2006) on Homer. The symposia of Alcaeus' enemies feature poetry (70.3–4) but presumably not Alcaeus' sympotic poems reviling them.

³¹ Cf. K. A. Morgan (1993) 10–11, Nagy (1994) 24, Agócs (2012) 212–13, Maslov (2015) 280.

³² Jebb (1905) 295, Eckerman (2012) 351–2, and others rightly connect ἄεισαν (B. 6.6) to Ὀλυμπίαι (6). νεανίαι (9) are not members of a chorus but youthful victors, as their (Isthmian) garlands show (8–9; but note Ar. fr. 505 PCG). Like the youthful victor Lachon, these youths glorify Ceos by their victories (5–6→15–16). Bacchylides could not have presumed to describe all previous Cean Olympic victories as being celebrated by choruses of youths. An epinician chorus can be composed of men or youths (e.g. *P.* 5.22, *N.* 3.66).

poem now performed in front of the victor's home (προδόμους ἀοι|δαῖς, 14–15).³³

Inset descriptions of comastic celebrations often highlight connections with the framing poem, as perhaps most clearly in *Olympian* 9 (1–10) and *Olympian* 10 (73–83). Yet, as will be argued in detail below, both these passages also distance themselves from the celebration at the site of the games. Pindar's odes were perceived to be and really were something related yet different. In contrast to spontaneous celebrations at the site of the games immediately after victory, his elaborate works typically if not always debuted in the victor's home community some time after his victory.³⁴ Literary complexity will have been a significant distinguishing criterion between Pindar's epinicians and their comastic analogues. It is difficult to infer much about the role of poetry within celebrations at the games from various brief descriptions (VII.5), but neither a creative poet nor a lasting poem is ever certainly involved. In any event, temporal constraints will have limited the sophistication of any work performed soon after victory.³⁵ In literary epinician the verbal element of celebration seeks to attain a level of achievement that allows the poem to transcend its occasion and interest others removed in space and time. Its ability to do so is presented as the primary index of its distinctive value.

It may be helpful to distinguish between an organic social practice and the mediated literary realization of that practice. One may also, *mutatis mutandis*, invoke Bakhtin's (1986) 61 distinction between 'primary (simple) and secondary (complex) speech genres'. According to him, 'secondary (complex) speech genres... arise in more complex and comparatively highly developed and organised cultural communication (primarily written) that is artistic, scientific, socio-political, and so on. During the process of their formation, they absorb and digest various primary (simple) genres that have taken form in unmediated speech communion' (62). Pindar's *Olympian* 10 relates to whatever they sang at the first Olympic games (76–7)

³³ Geltzer (1985) 99 and Maehler (2004) 132 understand songs performed before the temple of Zeus at Olympia. This unusual sense is not clear from context. The more normal sense, 'before a (private) house', is appropriate for προδόμους (B. 6.14): see Pind. N. 1.19, P. 2.18, 3.78, I. 8.2, Woodbury (1978) 293–4.

³⁴ Against e.g. Gelzer (1985), Bagordo (1995–6), and Neumann-Hartmann (2009), Eckerman (2012) persuasively argues that there is no conclusive evidence that any extant epinician was first performed at the site of the games immediately after victory.

³⁵ Gelzer (1985) 108–11, Eckerman (2012) 358.

somewhat like how Bacchylides 17, a paean, relates to the paean cry of the Athenians who sailed to Crete with Theseus (128–9).³⁶ The more interesting point is that the poets and their audiences understood it this way.

It is probable that Pindar and many of his contemporaries supposed that the literary epinician had evolved from spontaneous revels immediately after the games. This would tally with patterns evident in Pindar's discussion of another genre. According to him, the dithyramb traces its origins to a cry accompanying the birth of Dionysus in Nysa (fr. 85, 85a) but it also later underwent certain changes in Naxos, Thebes, and Corinth (O. 13.18–19, fr. 71, 115). Its history continues to unfold in Pindar's work: his *Dithyramb* 2 embodies a new style of dithyramb (fr. 70b.1–3) but also links itself back to the birth of Dionysus (29–30) and hence to the origins of this type of song.³⁷ Across the centuries ancient narratives about various genres typically posit unsophisticated beginnings developing into more complex manifestations. There is good reason to suppose that this basic progressive framework was an enduring element of everyday thinking, not the novel invention of rationalizing philosophy and scholarship.³⁸ It would not be surprising if Pindar held a view of the epinician past in substantial agreement with modern scholarly consensus. He and his contemporaries would have reasoned from essentially similar evidence: the textual record (or lack thereof) and quasi-anthropological inferences about past social practice drawn from more recent social practice (cf. Arist. *Po.* 1449a.9–15).

For Pindar the past of the victory ode includes both distant generic analogues associated with comastic celebration at the games³⁹ and

³⁶ Bacchylides 17, later classified as a dithyramb, was probably considered a paean by Bacchylides' contemporaries: cf. Maehler (1982–97) iii.167–8, Rutherford (2001a) 73, Pavlou (2012a) 510–11, who provides a doxography. For similar dynamics between inset ritual and framing poem cf. Pind. fr. 52m.14–19, 70b.6–22, Kowalzig (2007) 60–8, 159, de Jong (2009) 107–8, Pavlou (2011) 61. See further Timotheus 791.197–205 *PMG*, Callim. *Hy.* 2.97–104, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.701–19, Limenius p. 149 *CA* lines 13–20, Philodamus *Scarpheus* p. 166–7 *CA* lines 8–10, 58–62.

³⁷ Bacchylides 19, a novel dithyramb (καινόν, 9), also looks back to the birth of Dionysus, χορῶν στεφαν[αφόρων] ἀνακτα (51).

³⁸ Ar. *Ran.* 1004–5 with Dover (1993) 317–18, *Pax* 748–52, fr. 264 *PCG*, Pherecrates fr. 100 *PCG*, Thuc. 1.2 with Hornblower (1991) 10 ('less complicated and less organised = early'), Arist. *Poet.* 1449a–b with Else (1957) 152–3, *De Poetis* F38 Janko, Hor. *Ars. P.* 275–80 with Brink (1963–82) iii.310–11; see further Russell (1981) ch. 11, Hunter (2009) 50–1, Hutchinson (2013) 27, Spelman (forthcoming b).

³⁹ Cf. κομῳάζοντι (O. 9.4), ἐγκώμιον (10.77), ἐπικώμιος (N. 8.50).

also more recent preserved poems. This bifurcated vision helps to explain his paradoxical deployment of epinician precedent. On the one hand, he generalizes in such a way as to suggest an extensive generic tradition (VII.1). On the other hand, he is aware of his relatively novel position as a professional epinician poet and never demonstrates knowledge of preserved victory odes older than Simonides.

Nemean 8 and *Olympian* 10 connect themselves to the foundation of crown games and forefront the antiquity of epinician celebration. Pindar draws authority from continuing ancient practices but also, in *Olympian* 10, implicitly distinguishes his art from its simpler antecedents.

A. *Nemean* 8

The language of appropriateness and necessity often articulates the relationship of epinician to its subject (Gundert (1935) 43, Bundy (1986) 10–11); a victory ode is presented as essentially a proper response to athletic success. Hence for fifth-century audiences the genre was at least as ancient as the contests from which it drew its themes. ‘A song of victory is as old as victory itself’ (Gildersleeve (1885) xvii). The close of *Nemean* 8 asserts something similar (44–51):

ὦ Μέγα, τὸ δ' αὖτις τεὰν ψυχὰν κομίζει
οὐ μοι δυνατόν· κενεᾶν δ' ἐλπίδων χαῦνον τέλος·
σεῦ δὲ πάτραι Χαριάδαις τ' ἐλαφρόν
ὑπερεΐσαι λίθον
Μοισαῖον ἕκατι ποδῶν εὐωνύμων
δις δὴ δυοῖν. χαίρω δὲ πρόσφορον
ἐν μὲν ἔργῳ κόμπον ἱεῖς, ἐπαοιδᾶς δ' ἀνήρ
νώδυνον καὶ τις κάματον
θῆκεν· ἦν γε μὰν ἐπικώμιος ὕμνος
δὴ πάλαι καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι
τὰν Ἀδράστου τάν τε Καδμείων ἔριν.

O Megas, it is impossible for me to bring back your soul; that is the vain goal of empty hopes. But it is easy for me to erect a loud-sounding stone of the Muses for your fatherland and for the Chariadae because of twice famous pairs of feet. I rejoice in sending forth an appropriate vaunt upon your deed,

and many a man has with healing songs rendered toil painless. Indeed, the revel song existed long ago, even before that strife arose between Adrastus and the Cadmeans.

Pindar gives a *terminus ante quem* for epinician poetry. The closing lines look to the foundation of the Nemean games, which were established by the Seven against Thebes.⁴⁰ A Nemean victory ode like this one, it turns out, is as traditional as the Nemean festival.

The preceding myth of *Nemean* 8, engaging with and probably differing from cyclic Trojan epic, illustrates the antiquity of misleading speech (32–4) and raises the possibility that the ancient poetic tradition may itself be misleading.⁴¹ The ode ends, however, by linking epinician to an even more distant past before the Trojan War and hence necessarily before Trojan epic: the Seven against Thebes predate the Trojan campaign and feature in analepsis in the *Iliad* (e.g. 6.222–3). The story of Odysseus' victory over Ajax shows that deceitful speech existed long ago (ἄρα πάρφασις ἦν καὶ πάλαι, 32); the closing reference to the foundation of the Nemean games entails that epinician praise existed earlier still (ἦν γε μὰν ἐπικώμιος ὕμνος | δὴ πάλαι καὶ πρὶν, 51–2).⁴² Pindar asserts the greater antiquity of his genre relative to a mythological material preserved in epic and so sets epinician against the paradigmatic 'poetry of the past'. The historical pedigree of the victory ode helps to authorize its contemporary representative to put forward his own version of ancient events.

The immediate argumentative purpose of this reference to the antiquity of epinician, however, is not to attack another genre but rather to buttress an argument from precedent. The final statement about the victory ode and the Seven against Thebes follows and substantiates a generalization: ἐπαιοιδᾶς δ' ἀνήρ | νόδουν καὶ τις

⁴⁰ See B. 9.10–12 and Davies (2015) 66.

⁴¹ Henry (2005) 80–1, West (2013) 159, 174–6, and Rutherford (2015) 454–5 discuss the cyclic background to *Nemean* 8. In the *Little Iliad* spies are sent to eavesdrop on the Trojans (fr. 2 GEF; compare and contrast *Od.* 11.543–7). Our ignorance of the version of the *Aethiopsis* hinders an assessment of Pindar's version. Perhaps that epic featured a contest in speech (cf. Davies (1989) 57, (2016) 79–80). It seems certain that *Nemean* 8 is to be compared with the epic tradition and highly probable that Pindar's story included distinctive elements; contrast Nicholson (2016a) 9. πολλά γὰρ πολλῶι λέλεκται (N. 8.20) might point to the existence of multiple and contradictory versions of the contest between Ajax and Odysseus.

⁴² Cf. Köhnken (1971) 34–5, Carey (1976) 37, O'Higgins (1987) 129, Agócs (2012) 218.

κάματον θῆκεν, 'many a man has with healing songs rendered toil painless' (49–50).⁴³ Over the years since the establishment of the Nemean games many have eased the pain of toil through the 'healing songs' of epinician, the response appropriate to athletic achievement (πρόσφορον . . . κόμπον, 48–9). Unlike an impossible cure for mortality (44–5), a poetic palliative treatment is eminently possible and trustworthy (πιστόν, 44) because it has a long history.⁴⁴ Pindar cannot return the deceased to the world, but he can celebrate victory with an epinician song as men have done since at least the time of Adrastus. Similarly, in *Pythian* 3 the unattainable wish to provide a divine healer (1–5) sets up a more realistic closing promise of poetic immortality supported by an argument from precedent (110–15).

Previous poetry, which had earlier featured in *Nemean* 8 as a background against which this new work will be judged (19–21) and as a pernicious tradition (34), at the end of the ode provides a validating genealogy. Pindar challenges the poetic past in his engagement with Trojan epic but also honours the older epinician tradition by fulfilling a time-honoured human need (χρεῖαι, 42), the desire for recognition and celebration, which had motivated every manifestation of his genre from time immemorial.

B. *Olympian* 10

Like *Nemean* 8, *Olympian* 10 links epinician with the foundation of one of the four major games. This ode, however, also implicitly distances Pindar's modern professional practice from its primordial antecedent.

The central narrative opens with a gesture towards time-honoured convention: ἀγῶνα δ' ἐξαίρετον αἰεῖσαι θέμιτες ὄραν Διός, 'the ordinances of Zeus have roused me to sing of a choice contest' (24). The θέμιτες (24) that stir the poet represent not 'die Ordnung des olympischen Festes' (Wüst (1967) 263) but rather a specifically poetic custom enacted in this very poem.⁴⁵ This force of tradition at work

⁴³ For καί τις (N. 8.50) cf. τιν' ἄγλωσσαν (24), P. 2.13–14, Gildersleeve (1885) 261 on P. 2.51, Des Places (1947) 82, Fraenkel (1950) 194 on Aesch. Ag. 369.

⁴⁴ τῶν ἀρείωνων ἐρώτων ἐπικρατεῖν δύνασθαι (N. 8.5); contrast οὐ μοι δυνατόν (45). This hard truth contrasts with the wheedling lies deprecated earlier (αἰμύλων μύθων, 33).

⁴⁵ So Barrett (2007) 66, Verdenius (1977–88) ii.67; contrast Nassen (1975) 229. Cf. O. 7.88, 13.29, N. 4.33, I. 6.20. Διός (O. 10.24) goes with θέμιτες (24), as word order

in the present is subsequently shown to derive from the very first Olympic celebration (76–83):

αἶδετο δὲ πᾶν τέμενος τερπναῖσι θαλίσαις
 τὸν ἐγκώμιον ἀμφὶ τρόπον.
 ἀρχαῖς δὲ προτέραις ἐπόμενοι
 καὶ νῦν ἐπωνυμίαν χάριν
 νίκας ἀγερώχου κελαδηρόμεθα βροντάν
 καὶ πυρπάλαμον βέλος
 ὀρσικτύπου Διός,
 ἐν ᾧπαντι κράτει
 αἰθωνα κεραυνὸν ἀραρότα.

The whole sanctuary sang with joyful celebrations in that fashion of victory revels. Following those ancient origins, now too we will sing a *charis* named for lordly victory and we will sing of the thunder and fire-flung missile of thunder-rousing Zeus, the blazing lightning that is appropriate to every triumph.

Congruity between contemporary and ancient practice is highly explicit. Latest celebration parallels first celebration as latest triumph parallels first triumph. Now as then celebration resounds ‘in that encomiastic fashion’ (τὸν ἐγκώμιον ἀμφὶ τρόπον, 77);⁴⁶ now as then victory at his Olympic festival, an enduring cultic practice, elicits a hymn to Zeus. ἐν ᾧπαντι κράτει . . . ἀραρότα (82–3) suggests that after the first Olympic games they appropriately sang a hymn to Zeus in his new sanctuary. ‘The ordinances of Zeus’ (24) ultimately lead Pindar, too, to hymn the god in turn. His victory ode finds an analogue in its institutional subject: epinician poetry, like the Olympic festival founded by Heracles, is a tradition perpetuated through the years.⁴⁷ Indeed, the evocation of the distant past through parallel present actions is reminiscent of nothing so much as cult practice and cultic poetry.⁴⁸ One thinks of how epinician in general, and this

suggests. The genitive should not be taken with αἰθωνα (24). The following relative clause provides the requisite specification. Zeus is often associated with *themis*: e.g. *Il.* 1.238–9, *Od.* 16.403.

⁴⁶ The definite article can be like a weak deictic: Hummel (1993) 181–2, Bonifazi (2004) 405. Here it points to a familiar phenomenon.

⁴⁷ τεθμόν τε μέγιστον ἀέθλων (*O.* 6.69); Ἡρακλῆος τεθμόν (*N.* 10.33); ἑορτὰν Ἡρακλῆος τέθμιον (11.27). Ritual nature of athletic festivals: *O.* 3.21, 8.64, 13.15, *N.* 2.4, 6.59, 10.34.

⁴⁸ For the poetics of reiteration in cult and cultic poetry see R. Parker (2011) 200 and Pavlou (2011) 64, 75, respectively. Cf. Sappho 17.11–12: νῦν δὲ καὶ αἰ . . . πόημεν | κατὰ τὸ πάλαιον.

epinician in particular, resembles and in a limited sense actually constitutes both.

The description of this epinician as ‘a *charis* named for victory’ (ἐπωνυμίαν χάριν | νίκας, 78–9) points up the ‘etymology’ of the victory ode, the ἐπινίκιος ἀοιδή.⁴⁹ The designation for the genre captures its enduring essence: from ancient days onward song has followed victory. This interpretation requires that ἐπινίκιος ἀοιδή (*vel sim.*) was already established as an intelligible way for Pindar to refer to this sort of poem. Our passage itself provides the best evidence for this proposition, since it does not use this designation but depends upon knowledge of it. Pindar and Bacchylides occasionally use such language elsewhere,⁵⁰ but generally instead favour language related to the revel (κῶμος) to evoke the epinician genre. Agócs (2012) 195–6 offers a possible explanation for this:

Despite the fifth-century currency of τὰ ἐπινίκια, *komastic* terms are as common in this genre as ἐπινικ- words are rare. The absence of ‘epinician’ is explained by its connotations. While τὰ ἐπινίκια refers to any context of sacrifice, feasting and celebration after victory... *komos* language points directly to a mode of performance... there is nothing mimetic or even particularly evocative about τὰ ἐπινίκια. It addresses only a vague notion of function.

It is a basic notion of function that is at issue in our passage. Alternatively, ‘ἐπινικ- words’ could have been in the fifth century a valid but relatively rare way to refer to this type of song both inside and outside the poems themselves.

For his account of the first Olympic games Pindar is surely not dependent on the text of a victory ode which once debuted on that evening and had been preserved down to his day.⁵¹ Yet this

⁴⁹ So Σ 94. χάριν (O. 10.78) is an internal accusative in apposition and refers to this poem; contrast Nassen (1975) 235 and cf. P. 11.12 with Finglass (2007) 84, I. 1.6 (the plural does not affect the point), Pae. 9.37, B. 14.19, Carey (1981) 67 on P. 9.4, MacLachlan (1992) 162–4. In our passage the adjective shows that the noun does not mean ‘for the sake of’. ἐπωνυμίαν (78) governs νίκας (79; cf. P. 1.30–1). ‘Bearing the name of the victor’ or ‘named for the Olympic games’, both less suited to context, cannot be wrung from the Greek. For an interest in the etymology of the name of a genre cf. fr. 85.

⁵⁰ Cf. ἐπινικίουν ἀοιδαῖς (N. 4.78), ἐπινικίους (B. 2.13), ἐπινίκια (Aesch. Ag. 174), Agócs (2012) 223. Contrast Maslov (2015) 282, who proposes that ‘Pindar and Bacchylides use *epinik(i)os* as an ad-hoc formation.’

⁵¹ Pindar presumably ‘inherited [these names] from an earlier source’ (Barrett (2007) 71). Scholars speculate about official records (Hubbard (1985) 67) or ‘a pro-Argolic

primordial Olympic celebration is nonetheless evoked as a validating precedent for the memorializing power of his new work. A request to the Muse for precise information about the distant past, paralleling the opening request to the Muse for the victor's name (1–3),⁵² introduces the ancient names of the first Olympic victors which immediately follow in the manner of epic invocation and response (60–6):

τίς δὴ ποταίνιον
 ἔλαχε στέφανον
 χεῖρεσσι ποσὶν τε καὶ ἄρματι,
 ἀγώνιον ἐν δόξαι θέμενος
 εὖχος, ἔργωι καθελὼν;
 στάδιον μὲν ἀρίστευεν, εὐθὺν τόνον
 ποσσὶ τρέχων, παῖς ὁ Λικυμνίου
 Οἰωνός.

Who attained the novel crown with hands and feet and chariot, after placing in his thoughts a triumph in the games and achieving it in action? The winner of the *stadion*, running the straight stretch with his feet, was Licymnius' son, Oeonus.

The question here is addressed to the Muses, who still preserve in their all-encompassing memory the names of those who won at the very first Olympics (60–73).⁵³ They will now also preserve the name of a new victor through Pindar's poem: *τρέφοντι δ' εὐρὺν κλέος | κόραι Πιερίδες Διός*, 'the Pierian daughters of Zeus foster widespread fame' (95–6). The fact that the otherwise obscure Samus, son of Halirothius (70), is still remembered in Pindar's poem gives the young Hagesidamus, son of Archestratus, an intimation of how he

poetical source' (Huxley (1975) 40). These names could have been transmitted through a 'source' as nebulous as the oral tradition.

⁵² *ἀνάγνωτέ μοι* (O. 10.1) is addressed to the Muse and Alatheia (3–4). For the subject of an imperative supplied by the following sentences cf. O. 11.16–17, P. 8.78–80, I. 2.43–8. For the mixture of dual and plural see Gerber (2002) 43. For the sequence of thought imperative–justification–imperative cf. O. 6.22–8, 7.89–94, N. 3.28–31. The plural rules out self-address and militates against an inscription (contrast Fearn (2013) 248); inscriptions generally address a singular passer-by. Neither the chorus nor the audience may directly access the poet's mind; goddesses can (B. 12.1–3, 13.229).

⁵³ On such epicizing questions to the Muse(s) see Minton (1960) 192–3, (1962), M. L. West (1966) 191–2 on Hes. *Theog.* 114–15, Braswell (1988) 161 on Pind. P. 4.70–1, H. S. Mackie (2003) 48–54.

will be remembered. His name, once inscribed in Pindar's mind (2–3), will be reinscribed in the minds of all who encounter this ode as it endures through time and circulates through space.⁵⁴

Scholars have elucidated Pindar's use of epinician precedent in *Olympian* 10. They have not brought out equally important lines of discontinuity with the past. The celebration at the first Olympic games was something fundamentally different from Pindar's work composed after the Olympic games in 476. Whereas the first Olympic epinician was performed at the games immediately after the competition, *Olympian* 10 was created on commission by a celebrated professional poet in Thebes (παρ' εὐκλείῃ Δίρκαι, 85) and subsequently performed with full choral accompaniment in the victor's community, Epizephyrean Locri, on the other side of the Greek world (84) a considerable time after the games (χρόνῳ, 85). The figure of the poet, so conspicuous in Pindar's poem, is conspicuously absent from the first Olympian celebration.⁵⁵ What he describes taking place long ago is not the debut performance of a sophisticated literary artefact like his own ode but rather a spontaneous revel, a κῶμος of the sort that his contemporaries still enjoyed at the site of the games (cf. τὸν ἐγκώμιον ἀμφὶ τρόπον, 77).

Olympian 10 juxtaposes a primal performance occasion with its related but different contemporary literary manifestation. Pindar's professional vocation, which he perceived to be a historical development (*I.* 2.1–11), is a pervasive concern. The opening image of the ledger (1–3), financial language, and a myth about breach of contract leave little doubt that this is a commissioned ode.⁵⁶ Pindar's claim to have forgotten (ἐπιέλαθ', 3) perhaps even represents the polite but transparent excuse of a professional busied with other commissions.⁵⁷ In 476 his ledger included poems for some of the

⁵⁴ Mental writing connotes memory (Sansone (1975) 60–2). Pindar thus claims to have forgotten and affirms that he has not. Naming and paternity are important themes. A male heir (*O.* 10.86–90) will be identified by his patronymic, as is the victor in line 2, and thereby sustain his father's memory (cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 505–7, Eur. *IT* 697–8). Heracles gives the previously anonymous hill of Kronos (νώνυμος, 51) its enduring name linked to his grandfather.

⁵⁵ D. L. Burgess (1990) 277 mentions 'the primal epinician poet of the first Olympian games'. But the impersonal construction of line 76 is pointedly vague.

⁵⁶ ὀφείλων (*O.* 10.3); χρέος (8); τόκος (9); λάτριον... μισθόν (28–9); ἀλιτόγενον (6) → ξεναπάτας (34). See Kromer (1975) 423–5, Bernardini (1982) 66–7, Nicholson (2016a) 142–3.

⁵⁷ Cf. *I.* 1.1–10, Race (1997) i.160, Gentili et al. (2013) 557.

most powerful men in the Greek world (*Olympians* 1–3) as well as this ode for a youth from Epizephyrean Locri.

There were no professional poets like Pindar in the days of the first Olympic games. As the victors are now no longer people who just happened to be in Heracles' army but individuals whose birth and training have led them to this climactic moment (20–1), so now the source of epinician celebration is not amateur performers but a professional poet of wide repute who is devoted to his craft. This development is not nostalgically depicted as lamentable.

Like *Isthmian* 2, *Olympian* 10 transcends the commercialism of its opening without dissembling its own commercial nature. In an expression of friendship (*φίλαν* . . . ἐς χάριν, 12), Pindar provides a superabundance of praise above the letter of his contract (9–12). As the poem travels back in time to the first Olympian celebration, it also returns to the sort of emotions underlying that paradigmatic event and all subsequent comastic revels. The ode closes by vividly and unusually reporting the speaker's experience at the games and stressing motives of admiration and desire rather than contract (99–105):⁵⁸

παῖδ' ἔρατὸν ὀδ' Ἀρχεστράτου
 αἶψα, τὸν εἶδον κρατέοντα χερὸς ἀλκᾷ
 βωμὸν παρ' Ὀλύμπιον
 κείνον κατὰ χρόνον
 ἰδέαι τε καλόν
 ὦραι τε κεκραμένον, ᾧ ποτε
 ἀναιδέα Γανυμήδει μόνον ᾧ-
 λαλκε σὺν Κυπριογενεῖ.

I have praised the attractive son of Archestratus, whom I saw triumphing with the might of his hand by the Olympic altar at that time, beautiful in body and suffused with youth, which once, with the help of the Cyprus-born goddess, warded off pitiless doom from Ganymede.

The poet, it turns out, remembers a lot more than just a name. It is not just a contract that motivates this ode.

On the day of Hagesidamus' victory, Pindar was present at Olympia where the first Olympic epinician celebration once took place (*βωμὸν*

⁵⁸ D. L. Burgess (1990) 281: 'an erotic relationship has replaced a financial one'; cf. Kromer (1976) 421. Erotic descriptions of the victor may be conventional (Nicholson (2000)), but they depict real emotion.

παρ' Ὀλύμπιον, 101; cf. τέμενος 76). His ode, however, did not debut there on that night but was delayed. This gap between triumph and celebration, at first depicted as blameworthy (1–8), is subsequently refigured (85–96):

... τὰ παρ' εὐκλείῃ Δίρῃ χρόνῳ μὲν φάνεν·
 ἀλλ' ὥτε παῖς ἐξ ἀλόχου πατρί
 ποθεινὸς ἵκοντι νεότατος τὸ πάλιν ἦδη,
 μάλα δέ οἱ θερμαίνει φιλότατι νόον·
 ἐπεὶ πλοῦτος ὁ λαχὼν ποιμένα
 ἐπακτὸν ἀλλότριον
 θναίσκοντι cτυγερώτατος·
 καὶ ὅταν καλὰ ἔρξαις ἀοιδᾶς ἄτερ,
 Ἀγχιίδαμ', εἰς Αἶδα cταθμόν
 ἀνὴρ ἵκηται, κενεὰ πνεύσαις ἔπορε μόχθῳ
 βραχὺ τι τερπνόν. τὴν δ' ἄδυεπής τε λύρα
 γλυκύς τ' αὐλὸς ἀναπάσσει χάριν·
 τρέφοντι δ' εὐρὺ κλέος
 κόραι Πιερίδες Διός.

... [songs] that have appeared in time by glorious Dirce. But as a son from his wife is longed for by a father who has already arrived at the polar opposite of youth and greatly warms his mind with love (for wealth that falls to the lot of the care of a stranger from elsewhere is most hateful to a man who is dying), so too, when a man has performed fine things, Hagesidamus, and goes without song into the dwelling of Hades, in vain has he exerted himself and granted to his toil but some brief delight. Upon you, however, the lyre with sweet words and melodious *aulos* are shedding *charis*. The Pierian daughters of Zeus foster widespread fame.

By initially identifying his work with the 'interest' (τόκος, 9) owed to the victor because of the delay in fulfilling his contract,⁵⁹ Pindar implied that 'the quality of his song will correspond to the length of time it has been delayed' (Kromer (1976) 428). This 'interest' of literary quality is tied to the afterlife of the poem. Pindar's τόκος (9) is at once 'interest' (LSJ⁹ s.v. τόκος II.2) and, in this metaphor, a 'child' (LSJ⁹ s.v. τόκος II), who will survive the victor when this ode is remembered even after his death (παῖς, 86). Because the poet did not shoot off a hastily composed ode but rather took the time to carefully craft *Olympian* 10, Hagesidamus will not enjoy some 'brief

⁵⁹ Verdenius (1987–88) ii.59, Barrett (2007) 55; contrast Kabiersch (1999), Gentili et al. (2013) 248–9.

pleasure' (βραχύ τι τερπνόν, 93) but will long be remembered through this text.

In *Olympian* 10 the past and present are in dialogue. This ode in a sense reiterates the very first Olympic epinician but embodies a distinctively modern, professional literary quality which will ensure that Hagesidamus' epinician celebration, unlike whatever they sang at the first Olympics, is remembered through an enduring literary artefact. Pindar emphasizes the time-honoured tradition of his genre but also highlights distinguishing features of his modern art. We misconstrue this ode if we neglect either how the author integrates his work into ancient practice or how he sets himself apart from the vanished simplicity of the past. He does not apologize for his professionalism or rehabilitate the mercenary Muse; he demonstrates how modern professional practice can preserve unbroken the original essence of epinician song, 'a *charis* named for victory', in a different but related form.

3. THE FLOWERS OF NEW POEMS: *OLYMPIAN* 9

Like *Olympian* 10, *Olympian* 9 juxtaposes comastic celebration at the games with Pindar's professional poem. Unlike *Olympian* 10, however, this ode associates the revel at Olympia with a specific poetic predecessor, Archilochus. Scholars have elucidated the opening juxtaposition between epinician celebration and literary epinician,⁶⁰ but they have neglected the historical dimension of the comparison. Pindar is not just contrasting his own ode to another song but contrasting different stages in the life of a genre. The opening reference to Archilochus is but the first of many encounters with the poetic past in this ode. As a whole, *Olympian* 9 articulates an implicit argument for poetry which reworks a heritage and brings it to bear on present concerns. This ode is among Pindar's most complex meditations on the literary tradition and his own place within it.

In the first lines different time frames are set in parallel: in the recent past Epharmostus has been celebrated with a song from the distant past; now he will be celebrated with a modern song. Like

⁶⁰ See Bernardini (1983) 123–4, K. A. Morgan (1993) 3–4, Pavlou (2008) 541–5, Agócs (2012) 213–16.

the erotic poets of *Isthmian* 2, Archilochus serves as a counterpoint for an extended opening contrast that clarifies Pindar's different place in literary history and in contemporary social life (1–8):

Τὸ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος
 φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπίαι,
 καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλόος κεχλαδώς,
 ἄρκεσε Κρόνιον παρ' ὄχθον ἀγεμονεύσαι
 κωμάζοντι φίλοις Ἐφαρμόστῳ σὺν ἑταίροις·
 ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκαταβόλων Μοισᾶν ἀπὸ τόξων
 Δία τε φοινικοστερόπαν σεμνόν τ' ἐπίνειμαι
 ἀκρωτήριον Ἀλίδος
 τοιοῖσδε βέλεσσιν . . .

The poem of Archilochus sounding at Olympia, that triumphal song swelling with three refrains, was enough for Epharmostus to lead the way by Cronus' hill when he was revelling with his own dear companions; but now from the far-shooting bows of the Muses fire with arrows such as these at Zeus of the red lightning and at the holy hilltop of Elis . . .

The piece in question was evidently ascribed to Archilochus because of its metre and perceived antiquity: *τῆνελλα καλλίνικε | χαῖρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεις, | αὐτός τε καϊόλαος, αἰχμητὰ δύο, 'tēnella* o victor, hail, lord Heracles, you and Iolaus, a pair of warriors' (324 spur.). Pindar's description of this song implies broad commonalities with his own work, but *Olympian* 9 is obviously more sophisticated in many respects. *τριπλόος* (2) probably describes a repetitive refrain alien to the metrically and verbally unique choral literary epinician.⁶¹ *τοιοῖσδε βέλεσσιν* (8) evokes such basic distinctions. *Olympian* 9, like Archilochus' song, spotlights Heracles' martial prowess (29–35) but presents him in a more intellectually challenging light as a mortal engaged in battle with the gods. Archilochus' song is associated with the proverbially old and outmoded Cronus (*Κρόνιον*, 3); Pindar's poem is associated with the younger and more powerful Zeus (*Δία*, 6).⁶²

Archilochus' song once 'sufficed' (*ἄρκεσε*, 3) to fill a concrete need tied to a definite place and time; Pindar's artefact will travel and last. His words are launched from the bow of the 'far-shooting Muses'

⁶¹ M. L. West (1974) 138–9, Gerber (2002) 22. On refrains, which are often found in subliterate verse, see Ar. *Ran.* 1295–6 with Dover (1993) 349, Finnegan (1977) 129, Silk (1980) 114.

⁶² For Cronus as a byword for the old-fashioned see Biles and Olson (2015) 501; cf. Timotheus 796 *PMG*.

(ἐκαταβόλων Μοιῶν ἀπὸ τόξων, 5) because they will interest an audience wider than the victor's close friends (φίλοις . . . σὺν ἑταίροις, 4) who accompanied him to the games with a vested interest in his success (21–5):

ἐγὼ δέ τοι φίλαν πόλιν
μαλεραῖς ἐπιφλέγων ἀοιδαῖς,
καὶ ἀγάνορος ἵππου
θάσσον καὶ ναὸς ὑποπτέρου παντᾶι
ἀγγελίαν πέμψω ταύταν . . .

But I, setting afire that dear city [sc. Epizephyrean Locri] with my blazing songs, shall send this announcement everywhere faster than either a spirited horse or a winged ship . . .

Pindar's arrows of song not only travel back to Olympia to replace the revel celebration at the games (5–10) but also travel throughout the Greek world to replicate this occasion. Horse and ship (ἵππου . . . ναός, 23–4) together connote land and sea, the polar halves of παντᾶι (24).⁶³ ἀγγελίαν (25) points to widespread secondary audiences interested in this epinician as a source of news about a recent victory.⁶⁴ Poetry outstrips paradigms of speed perhaps because it multiplies in its dispersal and hence may travel faster than any single physical thing (cf. ἐπὶ πάσας ὁλκάδος, N. 5.2). Dissemination in the present moment may hint at permanence in the future. The journey of poetry through space generally precedes and implies durability through time. Thus in Theognis, for example, first Cyrrnus' fame will spread abroad during his lifetime (237–43) and then preserve his name after his death (243–50).⁶⁵

Archilochus' song, 'una sorta di *urràh* non personalizzato' (Bernardini (1983) 124), generic enough to be suitable to any victory, is already familiar to all;⁶⁶ Pindar's poem, linked to a unique recent event, will be of wide and lasting interest for its artistry as well as for its subject matter. Archilochus' proto-epinician serves as a precedent for the canonical status which *Olympian* 9 aims to achieve

⁶³ Cf. Thgn. 237–8, Pind. I. 4.41, N. 6.48–9, B. 13.180–1, Kemmer (1903) 160–1.

⁶⁴ πέμψω (O. 9.25) looks both to the rest of this composition and to subsequent reception (cf. Pfeijffer (1999b) 57–8).

⁶⁵ Cf. Od. 3.203–4, *Hymn. Hom.* 3.174–5, Sappho 65, Pind. N. 5.1–5.

⁶⁶ The article in καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλόος (O. 9.2) suggests shared knowledge. Apparently Archilochus' chant was in fact widely known: see Olson (2002) 364 on Ar. *Ach.* 1227.

but also as a foil bringing out Pindar's stronger claim to the attention of contemporary audiences. The extended reception described in lines 21–5 is explicitly linked to the pleasure of secondary audiences. A conditional clause immediately follows (26–8):

... εἰ σὺν τινι μοιριδίῳι παλάμαι
ἐξαίρετον Χαρίτων νέμομαι κᾶπον·
κεῖναι γὰρ ὅπασαν τὰ τέρπν'.

... if with some destined skill I cultivate a choice garden of the Graces, for they bestow what is pleasurable.

Pindar here highlights the process of composition. An audience is invited to observe how he cultivates the garden of the Charites over the course of the ode so as to reap a certain type of flourishing. Later in the poem, the poet, speaking as if composing extemporaneously, prays for qualities belonging to this 'fated skill' (26) necessary for widespread dissemination (80–3):

εἶην εὐρησιεπὴς ἀναγείθαι
πρόσφορος ἐν Μοισᾶν δίφρῳι·
τόλμα δὲ καὶ ἀμφιλαφὴς δύναμις
ἔσποιτο.

May I find the right words and fittingly drive onward in the Muses' chariot, and may boldness and abundant power follow.

The victor himself once led the informal victory revel, but now the poet leads the way in a different poetic celebration and in a different sense (*ἀγεμονεῦσαι*, 3; *ἀναγείθαι*, 80). Inventiveness (*εὐρησιεπής*, 80), expressive power (*ἀμφιλαφὴς δύναμις*, 82), creative boldness (*τόλμα*, 82):⁶⁷ such are what his subject requires and what his audiences want to hear. None of these is to be found in Archilochus' proto-epinician. *Olympian* 9 cultivates an aesthetic quite different from that of the song evoked in its opening lines and offers reasons to prefer this new poem to Archilochus' old one (cf. 48–9).

Creative engagement with the tradition is itself another quality that differentiates Pindar's self-conscious composition from Archilochus' exuberant chant, which does not implicate its audience in an immanent literary history any more than the Rhodian swallow song does

⁶⁷ Daring linked to novelty: Pind. *N.* 8.20–1, Ar. *Ran.* 99, Callim. *Ia.* 13.19, Lucr. 1.66–7, Catul. 1.5, Verg. *G.* 1.40, 2.174–6, Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.18–20.

(848 PMG). The opening comparison with Archilochus' proto-epinician is only the first and most explicit of numerous allusions to earlier poetry in *Olympian* 9. Pindar transmits news of recent victory but also transmits material already covered in older works familiar to many among his audiences. A generalizing imperative referring to Simonides frames a narrative section alluding to the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, the cyclic *Cypria*, the Homeric *Iliad*, and perhaps also Archilochus once again. This intertextual tour de force advances an implicit argument for how a tradition can be continued in the present.

Using imagery related to the metaphor of 'the garden of the Graces' (*Χαρίτων* . . . *κάπον*, 27), Pindar endorses a preference for new poems but simultaneously refers to older poetry in doing so: *αἶνει δὲ παλαιὸν μὲν οἶνον, ἄνθεα δ' ὕμνων | νεωτέρων*, 'praise old wine but the flowers of newer poems' (48–9). The passage of time improves certain wines but does not increase literary quality.⁶⁸ On the contrary, new poems can be, like fresh flowers, desirable precisely because they are new. Thus *Olympian* 9, as we have seen, makes an appeal to secondary audiences both on the basis of its recent subject matter and on the basis of its style that is more sophisticated than that of Archilochus' proto-epinician.

The imperative in lines 48–9 evidently looks to a Simonidean passage preserved in the Pindaric scholia.⁶⁹ The text of the fragment might run thus: *ἐξελέγχει νέος οἶνος οὐπω | <τὸ> πέρυσι δῶρον ἀμπέλου· | κούρων δ' ὅδε μῦθος κενεόφρων*, "new wine does not yet put to the test last year's gift of the vine." That is the empty-headed saying of boys' (Simon. 602).⁷⁰ There is no reason to doubt authenticity. The poet Simonides was presumably concerned, as the Pindaric scholia

⁶⁸ For oenological realities see Brink (1963–82) iii.75 on Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.34–5, a reference to our passage and probably also its Simonidean intertext: *si meliora dies, ut uina, poemata reddit, | scire uelim chartis pretium quotus adroget annus*.

⁶⁹ Σ Ο. 9.74b: *δοκεῖ δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ Σιμωνίδειον εἰρήσθαι· ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνος ἔλασσωθεὶς ὑπὸ Πινδάρου λαιδωρίας ἔγραψε κατὰ τοῦ κρίναντος Ἀγαθωνίδου* (Drachmann; *ἀγαθῶν εἰδέου* MS). *ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν . . . διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Πίνδαρος ἐπαινεῖ παλαιὸν οἶνον*. I print my own version of this problematic passage. I suppose that we have two redundant clauses and that ἐκεῖνος twice refers to Simonides (Poltera (2008) 557 n. 715). Alternatively, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν could refer to the words of the judge ('since he had said'). ὅδε μῦθος (Simon. 602) would then refer to his quoted words, which Simonides rejects. This seems less attractive.

⁷⁰ I here print Page's reconstruction, relegated to his apparatus in PMG, of the last line of Simon. 602. Producing similar sense, Poltera (2008) 244–5 prints *μῦθος ὅδε κενεόφρων*. But I doubt that *κούρων* is a gloss.

and modern scholars take him to be, not with wine but with poetry. This will have been clear from context. It is in itself significant that someone in the ancient world who read far more Simonides than we do today thought to adduce these lines in connection with *Olympian* 9. Poetry is often enough likened to wine, but the topos is insufficient to explain the congruities between these two passages, which are specifically concerned with the relative merits of old and new wine.⁷¹ Here the ancient scholarly tradition, as so often in Old Comedy, has picked up on a genuine intertext and thereby allowed us to do the same. *Olympian* 9, composed for a victory in 468, probably postdates the end of Simonides' career.⁷² We can thus infer the direction of the connection with some confidence: Pindar's talk of old and new poetry would have triggered his audiences' knowledge of Simonides' older work.

It is unclear whether Simonides expresses a thought in basic agreement or disagreement with Pindar. The pivotal question is this: does ὁδε μῦθος (Simon. 602) refer back to the words just related or to something else? The scholia apparently cite these lines as a self-contained expression, so the deictic could well look backward (cf. ἄδε βούλα, Simon. 581.7). On this reading, Simonides would quote someone denigrating new wine and then reject this idea as a mistaken youthful opinion (so Campbell (1991) 477; cf. Solon 20). One certainly expects Simonides, like so many Greek poets, to valorize new poetry. If this reconstruction is correct, Pindar would be seconding Simonides' approval of new poetry but also gently differing with him by stressing the superior quality of old wine.

Alternatively, ὁδε μῦθος (Simon. 602) could refer to something besides the immediately preceding words, and Simonides could be denigrating new wine. The Pindaric scholia are generally keen on the idea of a polemical rivalry between Pindar and Simonides; the scholia might here take Pindar's praise of new poems to be expressing a

⁷¹ Cf. Gildersleeve (1885) 206, Farnell (1930–2) ii.71, Lattimore (1946) 231–2, Molyneux (1992) 259–63, Gerber (2002) 45, Pavlou (2008) 556, D'Angour (2011) 102–3, Giannini (2014) 68–9. For poetry as wine see Nünlist (1998) 199–205. The scholia (Σ O. 9.74b) record a vignette about a contest between Simonides and Pindar which is a familiar sort of biographical fiction; cf. Fairweather (1974) 239; note Ar. *Vesp.* 1410–11.

⁷² Cf. Molyneux (1992) 259–63, Hutchinson (2001) 288: 'we have no reason positively to connect Simonides with the 460s.'

thought in *contrast* to Simonides.⁷³ If this was the interpretation of the scholia, it could have been mistaken, but it was at least based on a reading of a fuller text. On this reconstruction, Pindar would grant the superiority of old wine but, in contrast to the older Simonides, champion the superiority of new poetry. The technique of echoing and critiquing a previous authority would recall Simonides himself.⁷⁴ Even if this reconstruction is accepted, this hardly constitutes evidence of bitter hostility between the two poets. Simonides' abuse, even according to the scholia, was not directed against Pindar, and Pindar's reply would not be insulting, as Molyneux (1992) 259–63 stresses.

Whether dissenting from Simonides or, as I think more likely, agreeing with him, Pindar here seems to be echoing his lyric predecessor. Past literature is also important to the narratives which these lines introduce. The story of Deucalion and Pyrrha (41–66) provides a corrective to the preceding tale of Heracles battling the gods (29–35). This new myth depicts a different relationship between mortals and immortals (49–55):

λέγοντι μάν
 χθόνα μὲν κατακλύσαι μέλαιναν
 ὕδατος θένος, ἀλλὰ
 Ζητὸς τέχνας ἀνάπωτιν ἐξαίφνης
 ἄντλον εἰλεῖν. κείνων δ' ἔσαν
 χαλκάσπιδες ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι
 ἀρχᾶθεν...

They say that the force of water flooded over the black earth, but, through Zeus' schemes, an ebb tide at once drained the flood. From them [*sc.* Deucalion and Pyrrha] were your bronze-shielded ancestors from the start...

Whereas Heracles matched the strength of hostile gods (29–35), in this story the Olympians are vastly more powerful but also beneficent (Διὸς αἶσαι, 42; Ζητὸς τέχναις, 52). Having endorsed a preference for new poems (48–9), Pindar now emphasizes the antiquity of his theme (Πρωτογενείας, 41; πρῶτον, 44; ἀρχᾶθεν, 55). He also emphasizes its literary pedigree. The *dicitur* motif (λέγοντι μάν, 49) here points to a

⁷³ Σ *O.* 2.157a, *N.* 4.60b, *I.* 2.9a. πρὸς τὸ Σιμωνίδειον (Σ *O.* 9.74b) need not necessarily imply rivalry but could mean 'in response to what Simonides had said'.

⁷⁴ Cf. Simon 542, 581, Solon 20, Arist. *Rh.* 1395a, Easterling (1982) 72, M. Griffith (1990) 193.

particular antecedent, the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.⁷⁵ D'Alessio (2005), while conceding that 'it is difficult . . . to pinpoint [Pindar's] personal contribution to the story' (226), persuasively argues for this intertextual connection and discusses some plausible lines of innovation. Pindar further assimilates his work to this Hesiodic genealogical poem by drawing a genealogical conclusion from his narrative: his tale traces the origins of the Opountians (ὤμέτεροι πρόγονοι, 54).⁷⁶

The story of Achilles and Patroclus on the Mysian campaign next follows in chronological sequence (70–9):

τοῦ παῖς ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδαις
 Τεύθραντος πεδῖον μολῶν ἔστα cὺν Ἀχιλλεῖ
 μόνος, ὅτ' ἀλκᾶεντας Δαναοὺς τρέψαις ἀλῖαισιν
 πρύμναις Τήλεφος ἔμβαλεν·
 ὥς τ' ἔμφορον δείξαι
 μαθεῖν Πατρόκλου βιατὰν νόον·
 ἐξ οὗ Θέτιος ἱγόνος οὐλίῳ νιν ἐν Ἄρει
 παραγορεῖτο μή ποτε
 σφετέρας ἄτερθε ταξιούσθαι
 δαμασιμβρότον αἰχμᾶς.

His [sc. Menoetius'] child came along with the Atreidae to the plain of Teuthras and stood his ground alone with Achilles, when Telephus routed the mighty Danaans and attacked their sterns in the sea, so as to show an intelligent man how to learn Patroclus' mighty mind. Thenceforth Thetis' offspring would exhort him never to station himself in deadly combat apart from his man-subduing spear.

Olympian 9 here again engages with another well-known text, the *Cypria* (arg. 7 *GEF*), which constituted a canonical version of the Mysian campaign in this period.⁷⁷ Pindar's version, furthermore, foreshadows Patroclus' death as depicted in the *Iliad*, a memorable and pivotal episode in another canonical poem attributed to Homer. Emphasis on Achilles' spear recalls how this weapon both wounded

⁷⁵ Cf. D'Alessio (2005) 220–8, Pavlou (2008) 555, 562.

⁷⁶ Miller (1993a) 134 n. 53 persuasively takes this to refer to the Opountians as a whole. The Hesiodic *Catalogue* was perhaps of special interest to those claiming descent from figures treated therein: M. L. West (1985) 8–9, Fowler (1998).

⁷⁷ Cf. M. L. West (2013) 106–7, who posits a close congruity between Pindar's version and the *Cypria*, and Spelman (2018b). [Hes.] fr. 165 briefly narrates the campaign.

and cured Telephus in the *Cypria* (arg. 7 GEF). But one might well also think of how in the *Iliad* Patroclus could not carry this extraordinary weapon into the fight on the day of his death (16.140–4). On that day, in contravention of his friend's earlier orders as reported by Pindar, Patroclus entered the fray without Achilles for the first and last time: παραγορεύτο μή ποτε | σφετέρας ἄτερθε ταξιούσθαι | δαμασιμβρότου αἰχμᾶς, '[Achilles] would exhort him never to station himself in deadly combat apart from his man-subduing spear' (Pind. O. 9.77–9); μὴ κύ γ' ἄνευθεν ἐμεῖο λιλαίεσθαι πολεμίζειν | Τρωσὶ φιλοπολέμοισιν, 'do not set your mind on fighting the war-loving Trojans without me' (Il. 16.89–90). The Pindaric scholia, along with modern scholars, pick up on the connection and adduce this Iliadic passage.⁷⁸ Mention of Patroclus' first entry into the dangers of battle looks forward to his last (οὐλίῳ . . . ἐν Ἀρεῖ, 76). Pindar's narrative ends on a portentous, forward-looking note that invites an audience to think of later events (ἐξ οὗ, 76; μὴ ποτε, 77). This story-telling technique finds parallels in Bacchylides.⁷⁹ Here a hint of a dark next step in his tale helps to motivate Pindar's transitional prayer to proceed appropriately.⁸⁰

Pindar, it seems, is approaching an Alexandrian level of intertextual sophistication in this ode. There may be yet another layer. Archilochus also treated the Mysian expedition but emphasizes those who fled, not those who stood their ground. According to Archilochus' 'Telephus Poem', Telephus alone put the entire Greek army to rout (μῶνος . . . ἐφόβησε πολλὴν στρατῶν, 5–6); according to Pindar, Achilles and Patroclus alone stood their ground while the rest fled (ἔστα σὺν Ἀχιλλεῖ | μόνος, 71–2; cf. μένειν, 90). Archilochus' narrative justifies flight from battle and may have served the purpose of justifying his own flight (cf. Archil. 5, Obbink (2006) 7); Pindar's narrative exalts exceptional bravery and serves the purpose of praising exceptional achievement. There may be further broad lines of contact between these two poems. Heracles seems to have figured in Archilochus' version (22–5), which illustrates how the power of the gods overcomes even the strongest men (θεοῦ κρατερῇ[ς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, 1; μοῖρα

⁷⁸ Σ Pind. O. 9.115d, 118c; cf. Farnell (1930–2) ii. 72, Rutherford (1997b) 55, Rengakos (2000) 110, Gerber (2002) 55.

⁷⁹ Cf. B. 5.176–8, 16.30–5, 18.60, Rengakos (2000) 102, Most (2012) 267, D. L. Cairns (2010) 46.

⁸⁰ πρόσφορος (O. 9.81). Cf. O. 13.94 (παρὰ σκοπόν), N. 5.15–17, B. 5.176–8, Miller (1993a) 138–9.

θεῶν ἐφóβει, 7). *Olympian* 9 cites Heracles standing his ground to face the gods in battle and also meditates on the relationship between mortal and divine (28–35). Archilochus may be relevant to more than just the opening lines of Pindar's ode.

The first narrative of *Olympian* 9 (29–35) also probably somehow engages the mythological tradition. There is no obvious reason for us to associate Heracles' battle(s) against the gods with a particular text or genre, but Pindar is unlikely to have invented this story from whole cloth only in order to dismiss it forthwith as impious.⁸¹ His rhetoric of revisionism makes sense only if he retells and then rejects a tale (or tales) which had in the past seemed acceptable enough to others in some form.

We cannot recover the vanished pieces of the background against which Pindar's references once derived meaning. We can, however, discern that *Olympian* 9 is very interested in revisiting and revising the poetic past. More significant than any single allusion is the attitude embodied in the ode as a whole. This poem is at once traditional and new, incorporating earlier poetry but forging a fresh path. Indeed, enthusiasm for novelty is a stable feature of the Greek poetic tradition, which Pindar endorses in his turn. As the victor has already been celebrated with an older form of epinician celebration but still requires a new ode, so also poet's mythological themes have already been treated in previous poems but may be revived and recombined in a different, unique, and potentially superior form. As Pindar's victory ode contains and in a sense reiterates with variation a victory revel at Olympia, so it contains and reiterates with variation narratives from canonical works.

For Pindar, new poems ever have a claim to special sorts of attention, but the best older works are not forgotten. Poems belong to diachronic narratives but also belong to a literary culture which enables interactions across time. Old poems remain perpetually present in a certain sense (cf. Herington (1985) 62–3). Pindar manifestly has a conception of canonical works with abiding appeal; his exhortation to praise new poems only makes sense in an environment where old poems are remembered and compared to new ones. But the poet is not burdened by an epigonic deference to an inherently superior

⁸¹ Cf. Molyneux (1972) 301–13, Gerber (2002) 35–6, Gentili et al. (2013) 529–30. The story has been linked with epic (Pavlou (2008) 550) and Archilochus' chant (Simpson (1969) 119, Casadio (1996) 70–1; contrast Carey (1980) 153 n. 42).

past. His work engages with and even perhaps aims to surpass poems that have achieved the sort of enduring reception to which his own offering aspires. Entering into conversation with the canon, *Olympian* 9 advances a claim to join it. As Pavlou (2008) 564 writes, Pindar 'makes himself part of the tradition'.

VII

The Epinician Present

We turn now from the epinician past to the more recent history of the genre in the literary culture of Pindar's day. By examining how his poems contextualize themselves within living practices, we can enrich our understanding of many passages and also win insight into the cultural environment in which these poems found meaning for fifth-century audiences. The production and reception of literary works is a historically situated practice. This practice is a frequent object of self-reflexive attention in Pindar. A literary context, which stretches beyond the bounds of the victor's community, is important for understanding these poems. The texts themselves provide our best evidence for the contours of that context.

This chapter analyses some different sorts of references from across the corpus and draws conclusions from each type. Five sections treat, in order, the epinician genre, Pindar's career, patrons' history of patronage, other eulogists, and revels at the games. These categories overlap but provide useful frameworks for comparisons. Repetition is avoided. Section 6 offers an interpretation of *Nemean* 6, an ode that situates itself both within traditional social practices and a poetic canon. Section 7 provides a conclusion that synthesizes preceding arguments and offers a reconstruction of the literary practices surrounding fifth-century epinician.

1. GENERIC REFERENCES

Pindar draws on his audiences' knowledge of the victory ode as a type of song and conveys a vague sense of epinician history. An appeal to generically specific criteria of excellence presumes a background of

convention as shared knowledge established already by the time of Pindar's earliest dateable epinician: ἐγκωμίων γὰρ ἄωτος ὕμνων | ἐπ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὥτε μέλιττα θύνει λόγον, 'for the finest of victory songs strike like a bee from one topic to another' (P. 10.53–4). There must have already been developed ideas about the discursive character of victory odes. Other passages, like this one, use generically marked language to reflect on the obligations of a song.¹ In μεγάλων δ' ἀέθλων | Μοῖσα μεμνᾶσθαι φιλεῖ, 'the Muse loves to remember great contests' (N. 1.11–12), the verb connotes desire but also habit: it looks back to earlier occasions on which the Muse has celebrated athletics.² Lasting praise is generally secured for Olympic victors: ἀφθόνητος δ' αἶνος Ὀλυμπιονίκαις | οὐτος ἄγκειται, 'without stint is that praise stored up for Olympic victors' (O. 11.7–8).³ As a matter of course, poems in honour of Olympic victors migrate outward from the location of their triumph to meet wider audiences: τὰς ἅπο | θεόμοροι νίσοντ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους αἰοδαί, | ὧι τινη... , 'from [Pisa] divinely allotted songs go out to mankind, in honour of whomever...' (O. 3.9–10). By addressing Olympia (1–10), Pindar at least imaginatively situates this poem there and links it to the ancient tradition of revels at the site of the games (cf. O. 10.76–82). Answering Pisa's demand for song in the present (9), he continues an institutional tradition, like the Hellanodicas who continues the tradition of the games in accordance with the ancient behests of Heracles (κραίωνων ἐφετμὰς Ἡρακλέος προτέρας, 11). An Olympic epinician is as customary as the Olympic crown (11–15), another sort of memorial (μνᾶμα, 15).

Many generalizations about poetry are not specific to epinician but presume an audience familiar with broadly similar works. Thus, for example, great achievements are ever a potential subject for many words (ἀρεταὶ δ' αἰεὶ μεγάλα πολύμυθοι, P. 9.76), but discerning audiences prefer varied, concise treatment (βαῖα δ' ἐν μακροῖσι ποικίλλειν | ἀκόα σοφοῖς, 77–8).⁴ Various maxims about the powers of

¹ ἐγκωμίων... μελέων (O. 2.47), ἀγλαόκωμον (3.6), ἐπικωμῖαν... κλυτὰν ὅπα (P. 10.6), ἐγκώμιον... μέλος (N. 1.7), καλλίνικον χάρι' (I. 5.54), all in passages reflecting on the obligations of Pindar's work.

² Desire: cf. N. 3.7; habit: cf. B. 13.204, LSJ⁹ s.v. II. φιλέοισιν (P. 3.18) also combines both.

³ Barrett (2007) 56 on ἄγκειται (O. 11.8): 'the word serves as perfect passive of ἀνατίθηναι, properly "set up" when you dedicate an offering or monument. The praise is not something transitory, uttered and then forgotten.'

⁴ Cf. P. 1.81–2, Carey (1981) 88–9, Young (1983b) 158–61, Race (1990) 80–1.

poetry presume precedent, however generally conceived. Consider N. 7.14–16:

ἔργοις δὲ καλοῖς ἔσοπτρον ἵσαμεν ἐνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ,
 εἰ Μναμοσύνας ἔκατι λιπαράμπυκος
 εὔρηται ἄποινα μόχθων
 κλυταῖς ἐπέων αἰοδαῖς.

We know of a mirror for noble deeds in just one way: if, by the will of Mnemosyne with the shining crown, there is found a recompense for labours through famous songs of verses.

‘We know’ confidently appeals to shared knowledge of past works broadly similar to this one.

Pindar sometimes refers to epinician as a tradition. Some of these passages closely align his ode with the revel (κῶμος), which was in fact traditional. Some approximate epinician to cultic ritual, which was quintessentially traditional and perceived as such. *Olympian* 8 presents itself as an iteration of a customary rite: ἔστι δὲ καὶ τι θανόντεσσιν μέρος | κὰν νόμον ἐρδομένων, ‘for those who have died there is also a certain share in things done according to custom’ (77–8). This likens epinician to cultic practice and to sacrifice in particular.⁵ In *Olympian* 10, as we have seen, the ‘ordinances of Zeus’ (θέμιτες . . . Διός, O. 10.24) lead Pindar to celebrate a recent victory ‘in that encomiastic fashion’ (τὸν ἐγκώμιον ἀμφὶ τρόπον, 77) much as men did in the ancient days of the very first Olympics (VI.2.B). In *Olympian* 13 Zeus is asked to ‘accept’ the present poem both as a dedication and as a revel: δέξαι τέ οἱ στεφάνων ἐγκώμιον τεθμόν, τὸν ἄγει πεδίων ἐκ Πίσας, ‘accept from him this rite of revel celebration for crowns, which he leads from the plains of Pisa’ (29). Here δέξαι (29) combines welcoming a revel and accepting a dedication⁶ while ἄγει (29) combines carrying off spoils and leading a revel.⁷ The performance of the literary victory ode is presented as the continuation of a revel which began at the games and now reaches its destination in the victor’s home community (cf. N. 9.1–3).

⁵ Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 417, Gildersleeve (1885) 199, Kurke (1991) 66. *Pythian* 5 approximates epinician to ritual libations for the dead: μεγαλὰν δ’ ἀρετὰν | δρόσῳ μαλθακαῖ | ῥανθειςᾶν κώμων ὑπὸ χεύμασιν (98–100).

⁶ Welcoming a revel: e.g. P. 5.22, Heath (1988) 189–90; accepting a dedication: O. 4.8–9, 6.98, 8.10.

⁷ Spoils: P. 4.161, 9.75; revel: P. 3.73.

In *Olympian* 7 Zeus is asked to honour a customary Olympian epinician (τίμα μὲν ὕμνου τεθμὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν, 88) by enabling the ode to achieve its goal of securing the victor's reputation (89–90). τεθμὸν, 'rite' (88), serves as sort of a *hypomnesis* reminding the god of earlier Olympic epinicians belonging to the same tradition. In *Nemean* 4 the rule of his genre compels the poet to curtail his mythological narrative: τὰ μακρὰ δ' ἐξενέπειν ἐρύκει με τεθμός, 'but a law [of song] keeps me from telling the long story' (33). Pindar is not taking a cue from some manual of epinician style, but a tendency to limit mythological narratives and celebrate contemporary themes is a real generic feature to which this passage self-consciously draws attention. In our passage, however, the poet in fact continues to treat mythological themes. He refers to generic convention in order to highlight a departure from it.

Pindar is interested in *creating* a sense of a past for his epinician poetry.⁸ Although his rhetoric of traditionality is parasitic on realities of past epinician celebrations and related older poetry, several of the passages discussed here might reasonably be suspected to include an element of exaggeration and spin. Professional epinician poetry, which was a relatively new phenomenon, actively works to vest itself with the authority of antiquity.

Some Pindaric scholarship focuses on unique features of individual performances, but the poems themselves often depict their occasion as anything but a unique affair. References to epinician tradition create a tone of high solemnity. The poet continues an established practice with its own history linked to the history of prestigious games. Invocations of generic precedent presume, and also help to create, a public attuned to convention. Bundy's (1986) 92 exhortation that 'the study of Pindar must become a study of genre' has solid textual support. These poems are to be interpreted against similar works. In this sense Pindar's epinician poetry 'contains within itself a *manual for reading*, a set of implicit instructions on how it may best be used' (Landy (2012) 12). A sense of an established practice being re-enacted can also enable Pindar's work to emerge as something novel.

⁸ Scodel (2002) 32 on Homer: 'traditionality does not depend entirely on objective tradition. It is a cultural construct, the social memory of the past.'

2. THE POET'S CAREER

Pindar sometimes alludes to his own history as an author. The poet is one of the most interesting character in epinician; he has a backstory. Pindar's career figures in his work not so much as a developing narrative, as in Horace or Callimachus,⁹ but rather as the static fact of a widely recognised pre-eminence. One sees a man standing at the summit and so imagines a climb. References to an established authorial reputation implicate previous victory odes—a frequent source of commissions, representing around a fourth of Pindar's Alexandrian edition—but are not necessarily so limited in scope.

Pythian 4 advertises Pindar's pre-eminence within a field of contemporary poets: πολλοῖσι δ' ἄγηναι σοφίας ἐτέροις, 'I am the leader in skill for many others' (248). The perfect verb highlights an established position of prominence now continued in this poem, in which the poet advises the monarch of Cyrene almost as an equal.¹⁰ He assimilates himself to Homer, a canonical authority and traditional source of ethical wisdom (277–9). In *Olympian* 1 Pindar's closing prayer is to continue doing what he does now (115–16):

εἴη σέ τε τοῦτον ὕψου χρόνον πατεῖν,
ἐμέ τε τοσσάδε νικαφόροις
ὀμιλεῖν πρόφαντον σοφαί καθ' Ἑλ-
λανας ἔοντα παντᾶι.

May you walk on high for this time [on earth], and may I as long as I live mingle with victors and be pre-eminent in wisdom among Hellenes everywhere.

Just as Hieron already now 'walks on high' because of his achievements, including a recent Olympic triumph, so too in this ode Pindar is already 'mingling with victors, pre-eminent in skill among Hellenes everywhere'.¹¹ ὀμιλεῖν (116) evokes the milieu of Hieron's court, which forms a prominent background in *Olympian* 1.¹² The poet

⁹ See e.g. Feeney (2009) and Kerkhecker (1999) 286–7. For poetic careers as an interpretive framework see various essays in Hardie and Moore (2010).

¹⁰ Cf. γνῶθι νῦν τὰν Οἰδιπόδα σοφίαν (*P.* 4.263).

¹¹ Gerber (1982) 177 and Verdenius (1987–88) ii.32 take πρόφαντον σοφαί... ἔοντα (116) as a statement of fact, not part of the wish. They do not cite a parallel (contrast *O.* 6.104). 'May I join victors whenever they win' (Race (1997) i.59) would be an unrealistic wish.

¹² ἐς ἀφνειὰν ἰκομένους | μάκαιραν Τέρωνος ἑστίαν (*O.* 1.10–11); φίλαν... τράπεζαν (16–17); ξένον (103).

has come to Sicily from his native Thebes (9–11) because the monarch, a singular judge of poetry (104), has recognized his outstanding skill and commissioned him. Being ‘pre-eminent in poetic skill’ is what enables ‘mingling with victors’ throughout the Greek world. *τοσσάδε* (115b), parallel with *τοῦτον . . . χρόνον* (115),¹³ looks forward to a continuing career on the most exalted stage.

As O. 1.115–16 looks forward to an epinician career, *Paean* 6 apparently looks backwards to a career of cultic poetry. The opening address to Zeus cites an established reputation: *ἐν ζαθέωι με δέξαι χρόνῳ | ἀοίδιμον Πιερίδων προφάταν*, ‘in a holy time accept me, the spokesman of the Pierians [*sc.* the Muses] who is famous in song’ (5–6). The speaker here sounds like the inspired and renowned Pindar of Thebes, not a chorus.¹⁴ His reputation is built on and continually perpetuated through songs like this one. He has arrived partly in order to ward off helplessness from ‘my honours’ (*ἐμαῖς τε τιμ[α]ῖς*, 11). This perhaps points to the particular honour of being selected to compose this poem for the Delphic *theoxenia*, a prestigious festival in a Panhellenic sanctuary, with a Panhellenic ritual goal (62–3), and presumably also with a Panhellenic first audience.¹⁵ In parallel with the opening request of lines 5–6, the final lines deliver another request: *Μοιcân | ἐπαβολέοντ[α] πολλάκι, Παιάν, δέ[ξ]’ ἐννόμων ἐ[νοπ]ᾶν*, ‘accept, o Paean, one who often possesses the customary strains of the Muses’ (181–3; text after Rutherford (2001a) 302).¹⁶ The speaker here, as in line 5–6, seems to be the poet; it can certainly at least include him. *πολλάκι* (182) serves as a

¹³ Mezger (1880) 95, Gentili et al. (2013) 389. Congruity between addressee and speaker features in several lyric endings (Hutchinson (2001) 254).

¹⁴ Cf. *Od.* 1.325, *Ibyc.* S151.46–8, *B.* 5.13–14, *Ael. Ar. Or.* 28.58 Keil, Rutherford (2001a) 308–9, Kurke (2005) 88–90, and especially D’Alessio (1994a) 125; contrast Burnett (1998) 394–5 n. 5. On the sense of *ἀοίδιμον . . . προφάταν* (6) see Sider (forthcoming) and Maslov (2015) 200–1, respectively. If the adjective here means ‘of song’ (Slater s.v.), then it is otiose.

¹⁵ Radt (1958) 116 instead thinks of more concrete honours in Delphi, as does Kurke (2005) 105–6. *τιμῇ* can refer to a ritual office (LSJ⁹ s.v. 3). In an agricultural economy and in an environment where yearly crop yields were so variable, composing a poem to help ensure the harvest of the Greek world was a very serious matter indeed (cf. *Pae.* 6.62–5 with Σ and Radt (1958) 133–4).

¹⁶ My understanding of these lines owes much to (1988), but I take the adverb with the participle rather than with the imperative (cf. Prodi (2013) 296–7). On palaeographical grounds *ἐ[νοπ]ᾶν* is to be preferred to *θ[αλι]ᾶν* or *θ[υσι]ᾶν*. A closing reference to poetry would be conventional; reference to sacrifice seems less appropriate here.

persuasive *hypomnesis* reminding the god of many similar past songs.¹⁷ ἐννόμων (183), ‘sanctioned by custom’ (cf. O. 7.84) rather than ‘harmonious’ (Rutherford (2001a) 306), points to ritual propriety. *Paean* 6 depicts itself as the latest in a series of many cultic poems which bolster the fame of their composer.

Pindar’s professionalism is central to the presentation of his poetic career. Each commission is fresh proof of the publicly recognized value of his skill. Pelliccia (2009) 241–7 and Bowie (2012), however, posit that at least the majority of Pindar’s epinicians were not composed for a fee (μισθός) but were rather embedded in relationships of friendship (ξενία). These arguments are not entirely convincing.¹⁸ According to *Isthmian* 2, the distinguishing mark of the present is that the Muse is now a lover of gain (φιλοκερδής, 6) and that praise poems are now sold (ἐπέρναντο, 7). The discerning addressee, Thrasybulus, is presented as aware of this situation (12). The next chapter discusses this poem in detail, but what matters for present purposes is that *Isthmian* 2 depicts commercialized praise poetry as a normal modern practice. When someone in fifth-century Athens encountered an epinician by Pindar of Thebes for an individual on the other side of the Greek world, he would not have presumed that it was friendly sentiment alone which motivated the poet to compose (cf. Ar. Av. 926–45, Pl. *Prt.* 346b, Arist. *Rhet.* 1405b). Pindar’s secondary audiences would have been correct, I think, in this supposition, which forms a key background for understanding his pervasive rhetoric of sincerity and truthfulness.

If Pindar really did travel to Aetna for the first performance of *Nemean* 1, a good meal was probably not his sole reward (ἀρμόδιον | δειπνον, 21–2). In different circumstances the rewards that he received may well have taken different shapes, from extended residence to gifts to hard money, and these forms of recompense may well have blurred into each other and been variously intermingled; the important point is that Pindar was honoured with compensation for producing exceptional poems.

¹⁷ Cf. *Il.* 1.39–41, *Sa.* 1.5–7, *B.* 9.1–6, fr. 20c.8–9, Race (1990) 85–6.

¹⁸ Compare, most recently, Morgan (2015) 115–19 and Stewart (2016). Bowie (2012) 90: ‘I am tempted to argue that *either* [Pindar] quite often composed for a μισθός but found no discomfort in doing so, *or* that it was only rarely that a μισθός was involved.’ I argue for the former option.

This is not to say, however, that Pindar's rhetoric of friendship with his patrons is merest obfuscation of hard commercial realities. He may well have been an aristocrat (cf. fr. 94c with S-M's apparatus), and wealthy in his own right (perhaps in part *because* of his vocation) and may really have been friends with many of the wealthy aristocrats for whom he composed; it would not follow that he felt discomfort or anxiety about acquiring further wealth by composing poems for them. In epinician the unembarrassed celebration of wealth justly acquired and properly used embraces not just Pindar's patrons but also the poet himself. In *Pythian* 2 Archilochus' poverty (ἀμαχανία, 54) and the following contrastive gnome about wealth (τὸ πλουτεῖν δὲ σὺν τύχαι πότμον σοφίας ἄριστον, 56, 'to gain wealth that is granted by destiny is the pinnacle of wisdom') call to mind Pindar's professional success, which is instantiated in this poem for the wealthiest man in Greek history (58–61; VIII.2.A). Pindar's professional prosperity, celebrated within his poems, can help to account for his unmistakable air of independence and equality with his illustrious addressees, that which has led some to doubt that he worked for recompense. Unlike the impoverished and hence unscrupulous professional praise poet of Aristophanes' *Birds*, who is quite willing to trample truth in pursuit of gain, a renowned professional in high demand throughout the Greek world need not accept every potential commission and need not make ethical compromises in order to win his daily bread (cf. Dover (1974) 109–10).

Though sometimes at pains to stress that lucre is not his sole motivation to praise the worthy, Pindar is not reticent about his professionalism.¹⁹ He can gratuitously call attention to the fact that his odes are commissioned. *Pythian* 11 playfully advertises its commercial status: Μοῦσα, τὸ δὲ τέον, εἰ μισθοῖο συνέθελυ παρέχειν | φωνὰν ὑπάργυρον, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλαι παρασέμεν, 'ο Muse, it is your task, if you have contracted to provide your voice for a wage of silver, to set it in motion now this way, now that way' (41–2 with Finglass (2007) 112–13). So far from being anxious or embarrassed about his professional status, Pindar sometimes celebrates it. The proem of *Nemean* 5 contrasts two vocations in the Panhellenic economy of athletic fame, the sculptor of immobile statues and the exceptional poet skilled enough to create circulating and hence enduring odes (1–5). Like

¹⁹ O. 10.1–12, 13.49, P. 2.68, 11.41–2, N. 4.75, I. 2.6–12, fr. 205 with Gentili (1981), Von Reden (1995) 42–4.

sculptures created on Aegina, Pindar's epinician, too, is a luxury ware fashioned for the export market (cf. *P.* 2.67–8). The essence of Pindar's professional task, in this formulation, is to achieve an extended secondary reception. In *Nemean* 4 Pindar has contracted to compose an epinician (*συνθέμενος*, 75; cf. *P.* 11.41) and is requested by the victor to create an enduring monument for a deceased relative (*στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέραν*, 81).²⁰ Again the poet's professional task is linked to literary permanence. In *Pythian* 3 there is an implicit contrast between the doctor Asclepius, paid to revive the dead, and the poet Pindar of Thebes, paid to provide Hieron with a different sort of immortality through his own craft and through his own different sort of 'gentle healing songs' (*μαλακαῖς ἐπαιδαῖς*, 51, of Asclepius' songs).²¹ Pindar's professional status can also be used for the praise of his patrons, who are lauded for their wisdom in liberally spending to commission a poem and preferring glory to the accumulation of wealth.²²

Gestures towards proven professional excellence are repeatedly linked to poetic permanence. Patrons hire Pindar to do what he has done before, namely to produce an enduring work. Already Ibycus advertises his own fame through song, that which presumably brought him to his Samian patron's attention, and guarantees his addressee's fame, which will be perpetuated in this particular song (*S151.46–8*). Several Pindaric epinicians similarly pair closing references to poetic afterlife with biographical information about their creator as a well-known flesh-and-blood personality. Thus, for example, the end of *Pythian* 4 looks back to an occasion when the exiled Damophilus was recently 'hosted' in Pindar's native Thebes and there 'discovered' the immortal words of this poem which reach later audiences (*εὔρε παγὰν ἀμβροσίων ἐπέων, πρόσφατον Θήβαι ξενωθεῖς*, 299).²³

Even more than Pindar, Bacchylides draws attention to his poetic reputation. For him, poetry is just one of many diverse endeavours in which men pursue good repute (*B.* 10.35–45; cf. *Hes.*

²⁰ Cf. Svenbro (1976) 185–93, Kurke (1991) 192–4.

²¹ The language used to describe Asclepius resonates with Pindar's description of his own profession: *κέρδει καὶ σοφία δέδεταί* (*P.* 3.54); *τέκτονα νωδυνίας* (6), both of Asclepius; cf. *τέκτονες οἶα σοφοί | ἄρμους* (113–14), of poets.

²² *P.* 1.92–4, *N.* 7.11–18, *I.* 1.40–5; cf. *Theoc.* 16.14–33.

²³ Cf. *O.* 10.97–105, *N.* 3.76–84, *I.* 2.44–8, 6.74–5, *B.* 3.95–8.

Op. 24–5, Solon 13.50–1). Bacchylides 10 describes the circumstances that produced this particular ode (9–14):

Ἀ[γλ]άφει καὶ νῦν κασιγνήτας ἀκοίτας
 γασῶτιν ἐκίνησεν λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν,
 ἐ[γ]χειρὲς ἔν' ἀθάνατον Μουσᾶν ἄγαλμα
 ξυγὸν ἀνθρώποις εἴη
 χάρμα, τεὰν ἀρετὰν
 μανῦον ἐπιχθονίοις . . .

. . . and now for Aglaus his sister's husband has stirred into motion the clear-voiced islander bee so that there might be a ready immortal adornment of the Muses, a shared delight for men, disclosing your excellence to mortals . . .

An elaborate periphrasis for the Cean poet evokes his reputation beyond his native island,²⁴ that which motivated his Athenian patron to commission him in the first place. The husband of the victor's sister has commissioned him expressly *in order* (ἐν', 11) to create a work that will spread and endure. His hope and his very awareness of Bacchylides will have been based on past odes that had already achieved this aim. This ode opens by invoking PHEME, personified fame, and describing her travels over the earth (1–2). As she carries this poem abroad, she transmits not only the glory of the victor but also that of its already glorious composer. Bacchylides of Ceos, for one, has manifestly succeeded in his pursuit of ἀριγνώτοιο δόξας, 'conspicuous glory' (37), as a poet.

Bacchylides 19, a dithyramb, opens with a generalization capped by its instantiation in an exceptional individual (1–14):

Πάρεστι μυρία κέλευθος
 ἄμβροσίων μελέων,
 ὃς ἂν παρὰ Πιερίδων λά-
 χησι δῶρα Μουσᾶν,
 ἰοβλέφαροί τε κ' ὄρα
 φερεστέφανοι Χάριτες
 βάλῳσιν ἀμφὶ τιμὰν
 ὕμνοισιν. ὕφαινε νῦν ἐν
 ταῖς πολυηράτοις τι καινὸν

²⁴ From the archaic period onwards, geographical periphrases for authors connote reputations: cf. *Hymn. Hom.* 3.172–3, Simon. 19 W, Pind. fr. 140b, Cratinus fr. 6 PCG, Krevans (1983) 205–6, Farrell (1991) 33–46, D. Burton (2011) 66–7. On a more general level periphrastic denomination in place of a proper name may thematize shared knowledge of a well-known figure (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 6.826–40).

ὀλβίαις Ἀθάναις,
 εὐαίνειτε Κηῖα μέριμνα.
 πρέπει σε φερτάταν ἔμειν
 ὁδὸν παρὰ Καλλιόπας λα-
 χοῖσαν ἔξοχον γέρας.

There are at hand countless paths of ambrosial words for whomever has received gifts from the Pierian Muses and for whomever the crown-bearing Graces, violet-eyed maidens, cast honour about his poems. So then, weave something new now in lovely, blessed Athens, o much-praised Cean mind. It is appropriate for you to travel by the best road since you have received from Calliope a choice honour.

One favoured by the Muses and Charites can produce ‘ambrosial’ (2) poems, i.e. works that last. Bacchylides fits this broad description but excels to a unique degree. He has received a superlative gift from the Muses (δῶρα Μουσᾶν, 4→παρὰ Καλλιόπας λα|χοῖσαν ἔξοχον γέρας, 13–14). Through the influence of the Charites, his work has already garnered exceptional prestige (εὐαίνειτε Κηῖα μέριμνα, 11).²⁵

In *Ode* 5 Bacchylides is like an eagle ἀρίγνω|τος {μετ’} ἀνθρώποις ἰδεῖν, ‘conspicuous for men to see’ (29–30). The poet glorifies Hieron (191–7) but also enjoys glory in his own right as the ‘famous servant of golden-crowned Ourania’ (χρυσάμπυκος Οὐρανίας | κλεινὸς²⁶ θεράπων, 13–14). Like the canonical Hesiod cited later in the poem (πρόπολος | Μουσᾶν, 192–3), Bacchylides, too, has a privileged relationship to the Muses. Like the Boeotian Hesiod (*Βοιωτὸς ἀνὴρ*, 191), the Cean poet, too, enjoys a reputation that reaches beyond his native community (ἀπὸ ζαθέας | νάσου, 10–11).

Another ode opens by asking the Charites for broad appeal (9.1–6):

Δόξαν, ὦ χρυσαλάκατοι Χάρι[τ]ες,
 πεισίμβροτον δοίητ’, ἐπεὶ
 Μουσᾶν γε ἰοβλεφάρων θεῖος προφ[άτ]ας
 εὐτυκος Φλειοῦντά τε καὶ Νεμεαίου
 Ζηγὸς εὐθαλὲς πέδον
 ὑμνεῖν . . .

²⁵ On the relationship between the Charites, who bestow charm, and the Muses, who bestow truth, see Race (1990) 124, MacLachlan (1993) 103.

²⁶ *καινός* (Housman) yields inferior sense. The poet’s composition may be described as novel (cf. B. 19.9), but not he himself. This passage hardly suggests that Bacchylides is a new arrival on the scene. Cf. *Od.* 1.325, *Ibyc.* S151.46–8, *Eur. fr.* 369.6 *TrGF*, *Ar. Thesm.* 29.

O Graces with the golden distaff, grant fame that persuades mortals, since the divine spokesman of the violet-eyed Muses is ready to celebrate in song Phlius and the flourishing plain of Nemean Zeus . . .

The poet justifies his request through a kind of *hypomnesis* by reminding the goddesses of his special relationship to the divine (*θεῖος προφ[άτ]ας*, 3). If the Charites answer his prayer for glory, this poem will reach future generations (81–4). Elsewhere an opening invocation of the significantly-named Cleo similarly looks to previous occasions on which she has inspired the poet: *εὔθυνε Κλειοῖ | νῦν φρένας ἀμετέρας, | εἰ δὴ ποτε καὶ πάρος*, ‘steer my mind now, o Cleo, if ever you did also before’ (12.2–4). Audiences, no less than the Muse, are reminded of earlier poems.

Besides such references to a general authorial reputation, Pindar and Bacchylides also make allusions to particular poems. *Isthmian* 1 looks to *Paean* 4 (see chapter I). In *Isthmian* 2 Thrasybulus continues his family’s custom of commissioning epinicians: *οὐκ ἀγνώτες ὑμῖν ἐντὶ δόμοι | οὔτε κόμων, ὦ Θρασύβουλ’, ἐρατῶν, | οὔτε μελικόμπων ἀοιδᾶν*, ‘your houses are not unfamiliar with lovely victory revels, o Thrasybulus, nor songs of honey-sweet vaunts’ (30–2). ‘Neither revels nor songs’ is hendiadys for ‘revels accompanied by songs,’ i.e. epinicians. ‘Not unfamiliar’ means, through polar litotes, ‘very familiar’ (cf. *N.* 1.22–4). This reference to past poems, which is connected with the family’s lasting fame for athletic victory (28–9), evokes Pindar’s previous ode for Xenocrates, *Pythian* 6, and also *Olympian* 2 and *Olympian* 3, both composed for Xenocrates’ brother Theron, as well as possibly an ode composed by Simonides for Xenocrates (513). The repute of this illustrious household, derived in part from these previous poems, makes it easy for Pindar to praise them once more (33–4).

In *Isthmian* 6 a description of a family’s cumulative epinician haul rounds off a victory catalogue: *ἀνὰ δ’ ἄγαγον ἐς φάος οἶαν μοῖραν ὕμνων | τὰν Ψαλυχιαδᾶν δὲ πάτρων Χαρίτων | ἄρδοντι καλλίσται δρόσῳ*, ‘what a share of poems they have brought up to the light! They water the clan of the Psalychiadae with the most beautiful dew of the Graces’ (62–4). This includes but is not limited to the present composition. The exclamatory *οἶαν μοῖραν* (62), looking back to a victory catalogue, connotes an impressive quantity. The subject of the verb is all of Lampon’s sons, not just Phylacidas, whose victory is the primary theme of the present poem. ‘Lead into the light’ draws on an idiom for birth and suggests that these epinicians are still living under

the light of the sun and remembered among men (cf. Kurke (1991) 80). The opening lines of this ode (δεύτερον, 2; αἶτε, 5) explicitly refer to a previous Pindaric epinician for Phylacidas' brother, *Nemean* 5.

Bacchylides is similarly interested in referring to his other poems. In an *encomium* for Hieron a *hypomnesis* to the Muse (εἰ καὶ | πρ]όθεεν ὑμνήσας, fr. 20c.8–9) also reminds his audiences of a previous poem for the same patron, probably Bacchylides 5.²⁷ Later in the same work ἔμοι τότ' ἐκούραι[, 'for me then maidens' (13), looks like a reference to past inspiration from the Muses. The opening of Bacchylides 4 mentions Hieron being celebrated for a third equestrian Pythian victory (4–5). The lacunose lines 7–9 might refer to a previous Bacchylidean poem celebrating a previous victory.²⁸

The biographical approach to the Pindaric first person has, with reason, fallen from favour, in no small part due to Bundy (1986) and Lefkowitz (1991, incorporating earlier essays). Now scholars generally do not believe, for instance, that when Pindar says 'I fault the lot of monarchs' (μέμφομαι αἶσαν τυραννίδων, *P.* 11.53) he was concerned to absolve himself in the eyes of his fellow Thebans from a perceived connection with monarchy rather than express a general ethical stance appropriate to this particular poem. Yet the past experience of the first-person speaker qua celebrated author is often highly relevant, as the passages discussed here show. The distinguished poet's status as distinguished poet makes a substantive contribution to the meaning of his poems. In these texts we meet a 'multitude of conventional masks' (Bundy (1986) 35) but also a flesh-and-blood personality, who relates to his conventional masks in complex ways.²⁹ Though Pindar of Thebes is never named within his epinicians,³⁰ the fact of his authorship is important to all of them. A career and a reputation tower in the background of individual odes.

²⁷ Cf. Cingano (1991b), Maehler (2004) 251–2.

²⁸ Maehler (2004) 103, Morrison (2007a) 88. Contrast Catenacci and Di Marzio (2004) 84–5, whose reconstruction is difficult to parallel.

²⁹ Carey (2000) 175: 'the panegyrist's mask has more than one layer.' Cf. Morrison (2007b) 61–6 and D'Alessio (1994a) 138, who stresses Pindar's relationship to the gods.

³⁰ Older lyric poets name themselves: Alc. 17, 39, Alc. 401b, Sa. 1.20, 65.5, 94.5, Morrison (2007b) 58–9. Pindar and Bacchylides prefer indirect denomination. References to geographic origins: *O.* 10.85, *P.* 2.3–4, 4.298–9, *I.* 1.1, 6.74–5, 8.16–16a, *B.* 2.11, 3.97–8, 5.9–14, 10.10, 19.11. References to poetic reputations: *Pind. O.* 1.115b–16, 2.86–8, *P.* 4.248, *N.* 3.76–84, *B.* 4.7–10, 9.3–4. This looks like a consistent rhetorical strategy.

Like much of earlier lyric, fifth-century epinician presumes knowledge of its composer's identity and biography. Bacchylides indirectly denominates Ceos as ζαθέας | νάκου, 'the holy island' (5.10–11; cf. *νασιώτιν*, 9.10, Pind. O. 10.85, I. 6.74–5). The victor's community, by contrast, is always more explicitly denominated (I.1). We should suppose that Pindar's odes circulated among secondary audiences equipped with extratextual knowledge of their author's identity (cf. Ar. *Nub.* 1356, Av. 939). At least some in the fifth-century Greek world, like many modern scholars, were interested in the fact of Pindar's authorship. It is not anachronistic for us to approach these poems with an awareness of their composer that pervades our experience of them. On one end of a spectrum might be placed passages in which the speaker can only be the author and on the other end of that spectrum might be placed passages in which the speaking voice excludes the author, but sophisticated audiences remain aware that he is in a way responsible for these words, somewhat as sophisticated audiences remain aware that a playwright is responsible for what his characters say.

An earlier section posed the question of why a fifth-century Greek would have cared about Pindar's occasional poetry celebrating individuals from other communities (IV.3). To the general reasons adduced there we may add the more specific but related reason 'because it was by Pindar'. References to the poet's identity and reputation presume pre-existing knowledge of his work and also an interest in the authorship of this particular poem. One of the many functions of Pindar's prominent authorial voice is to serve as a sort of trademark of quality. 'Those who care about song' (Thgn. 251) will have had reason to care about the latest song by someone who had composed many other good songs.

Pindar's reputation, reflexively celebrated within his work, must have also mattered to those who attended the first performances of his poems as well as to his secondary audiences. Many scholars are keen to investigate the influence of various performance circumstances on the poet's audiences, but one should not underestimate the degree to which the debut of a work by a celebrated author would have *constituted* the occasion for those present. For an only partially misleading contemporary comparison one might think of a famous musical act hired to perform at an obscenely lavish birthday party.³¹

³¹ Cf. the Corinthian sailors' excitement at hearing the famous Arion (Hdt. 1.23–4).

Both Pindar and Bacchylides are interested in creating a sense that their individual compositions belong to an authorial corpus. Allusions to other poems presume that at least some among Pindar's audiences were familiar not only with his general reputation but with multiple works. Passages referring to other compositions are always intelligible on their own terms but gain resonance by being contextualized within an oeuvre.³² This provides invaluable internal evidence for the afterlife of epinician and supports an intertextual approach like that fruitfully pursued in some of Morrison's publications. His work, however, has tended to focus on poems for the same or related individuals and their reception among local communities.³³ The study of connections between poems need not necessarily be so circumscribed. *Isthmian* 1 and *Paean* 4 were commissioned for distant initial performance settings but can be profitably interpreted as a pair.

Focusing on first performances will lead us to view each of Pindar's odes as a discrete event. The texts also invite another approach: viewing an ode as also part of the poet's career and as part of a corpus unified by an authorial ethos grounded both in a rhetorical persona and biographical realities.³⁴ To do so we need not necessarily speculate about linked performances or overlapping premiere audiences.³⁵ Pindar conceived of earlier authors' works as forming coherent corpora, as his allusive practice demonstrates.³⁶ 'Allusive art is a form of hermeneutics' (R. F. Thomas (2001) 55), and we are justified in

³² The end of *Nemean* 7, on the standard apology thesis, would not be readily intelligible to audiences unfamiliar with *Paean* 6. This counts against that theory. There is probably not a reference to another Pindaric poem at *P.* 2.67–71; see, most recently, Phillips (2013) 45–8. Proponents of external reference do not adequately explain how this would contribute to the train of thought. Line 72 concerns the reception of *Pythian* 2, not another song. *Olympian* 11 does not promise *Olympian* 10 (Race (2004) 86; contrast Pfeijffer (1999b) 61–5). In epinician the natural next step to the thought 'when a man wins he requires song' (*O.* 11.1–6) is surely not 'and I will sing of you later in another song' (cf. *ἀντίκ'*, *O.* 4.5).

³³ Note, however, Morrison (2007a) 116–17, (2011a) 250–1.

³⁴ Cf. Morrison (2007b) 66.

³⁵ Contrast Lidov (1974), J. S. Clay (2011a) 344, Morrison (2011a), (2011b), Clear (2013).

³⁶ Generalizing descriptions of earlier bodies of work: Pind. *P.* 2.54–6, *I.* 2.1–5. *N.* 7.20–30 cites the *Odyssey* and then alludes to the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships (cf. Σ 39b, Köhnken (1971) 61 n. 122). *Paean* 7b looks to the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships in its proem (15–20) and the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* in its myth (V.1.B). *Isthmian* 6 quotes Hesiod's *Works and Days* and then tells a myth drawn from the *Great Ehoiai* (IV.3).

applying to Pindar hermeneutic strategies which he himself applies to others. If he approaches older authors' poems as forming coherent bodies, it is reasonable to infer that he could have envisioned others approaching his work in a similar way.

It is significant that the first person in the historical record to quote Pindar already reacts to a corpus. Herodotus, writing perhaps two decades after the end of Pindar's career, refers to his work thus: οὕτω μὲν νυν ταῦτα νενόμισται, καὶ ὀρθῶς μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι, 'thus these things have been settled by custom, and Pindar seems to me to have composed correctly when he said "custom king of all"' (Hdt. 3.38.4, referring to Pind. fr. 169a). Not much earlier the historian makes a subtler allusion to a different Pindaric poem: οὕτω νομίζουσι πολλὸν τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἑωυτῶν νόμους ἕκαστοι εἶναι, 'thus each group regards its own customs as by far the finest' (Hdt. 3.38.1). As F. Ferrari (1991) 76–7 convincingly argues, adducing further contextual reasons, this looks to Pindar fr. 215a.2–3: ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοισιν νόμιμα, σφετέραν | δ' αἰνεῖ δίκαν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος, 'different men have different customs, and each praises his own way.' Herodotus rings a story with two references to two different poems by the same poet. He is making interpretive connections across a corpus unified by a coherent authorial ethos.³⁷ We are still justified in doing the same.

3. PATRONS AND COMMUNITIES

As Pindar's epinicians highlight their author's experience qua author, so they highlight their patrons' experience qua patron. Often such references can be linked with other extant works. Thus a poem for Hagesias notes that Hieron, Pindar's and Bacchylides' single most

³⁷ One would like to know how Herodotus acquired his knowledge of a Pindaric corpus. Ford (2002) 148 persuasively argues that Herodotus' knowledge of epic derives 'from carefully studying and comparing texts' (cf. Jensen (2011) 261) but, somewhat strangely, asserts that the historian's knowledge of lyric instead reflects 'a level of literary culture that could be picked up at the symposia' (147). The natural inference from Hdt. 5.95 is that Herodotus knows a poem of Alcaeus as a written text (cf. Ceccarelli (2013) 32 on ἐπιτιθεῖ). The historian sometimes writes as if he had access to an extensive and varied poetic record (2.156, 6.52). Eup. fr. 398 PCG seems to refer to a Pindaric corpus as a corpus (cf. τὰ Στηγισχόρου, Eup. fr. 148 PCG).

frequent patron, is no stranger to lyric praise: ἀδύλογοι δέ νιν | λύραι
 μολπαί τε γινώσκοντι, 'sweet-speaking lyres and choral songs recog-
 nise him' (O. 6.96–7).³⁸ In *Olympian* 1 a description of habitual
 sympotic performances in Hieron's court suggests lines of compari-
 son and contrast with the framing epinician: ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καί |
 μουσικᾶς ἐν ᾧῳτι, | οἷα παΐζομεν φίλαν | ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν,
 'he is also made radiant with glory in the finest songs, such as those
 we men often perform in play about the table of a friend' (14–17).³⁹
 One thinks of sympotic poetry celebrating Hieron, perhaps including
 Pindar's own.⁴⁰ If we choose to take lines 17–18 as self-address, it
 may be that Pindar, like the bard Demodocus, hangs his lyre in the
 hall of a patron with whom he has a sustained relationship (Od. 8.67,
 105). *Olympian* 1 situates itself in the same performance setting as
 frequent sympotic poetry for Hieron and makes conviviality an
 important theme,⁴¹ but this epinician celebrates a unique, superlative
 victory, which the speaker has personally witnessed (18–19) and
 come to Sicily in order to memorialize (9–11).

Arcesilas has been celebrated in verse from his earliest days
 onward: ἐν τε Μοΐσαισι ποτανὸς ἀπὸ ματρὸς φίλας, 'he flies among
 the Muses from his own dear mother' (P. 5.114).⁴² These lines
 recapitulate an opening description of the monarch's fame from
 early on: κλυτὰς | αἰῶνος ἀκρᾶν βαθμίδων ἄπο | σὺν εὐδοξίαι, 'from
 the very first steps of your glorious life together with fame' (6–8). The
 same ode points towards a generalized background of praise for the
 king: ἄνδρα κείνον ἐπαινέοντι σὺνέτοί· | λεγόμενον ἔρέω, 'experts praise
 that man; I will say what is said' (107–8). Here σὺνέτοί (107), like σοφοί
 elsewhere, may describe poets like Pindar, but the word is not clearly
 so limited in reference.

³⁸ The antecedent of νιν (O. 6.96) is Hieron, not Syracuse: so, most recently, Adorjáni (2014) 298–9, who discusses earlier odes; contra Hutchinson (2001) 419. γινώσκοντι (97) standardly takes a personal object.

³⁹ K. A. Morgan (1993) 3 understands a contrast between professional epinician and amateur sympotic poetry. ἀγλαΐζεται (O. 1.14), however, connotes resplendent glory, and ᾧῳτι (15) entails quality, thus indirectly praising the monarch's taste and liberality.

⁴⁰ Cf. Pind. fr. 124d, 125, 126.

⁴¹ Slater (1989) 491–2, Steiner (2002), Morrison (2007a) 59–61.

⁴² It would not contribute much to Arcesilas' praise to say that he was educated by his mother. The common metaphor of flight for fame, especially in connection with athletic achievement (P. 5.114–17), suggests that he is the subject and not the creator of poetry.

Gestures toward patrons' connoisseurship often evoke past experience not just as an audience of poetry but also as its subject.⁴³ Thus Bacchylides crowns Hieron, probably the foremost individual patron of choral lyric in the Greek world, as also the most qualified living judge of literary quality (5.3–6):⁴⁴

... γνώσει μὲν [ἴ]οσ τε φάνων
 Μοικᾶν γλυκεῖον ἄγαλμα, τῶν γε νῦν
 αἵ τις ἐπιχθονίων,
 ὀρθῶς.

... you, if any among mortals now alive, will correctly recognize the sweet and delightful gift of the violet-crowned Muses.

The monarch's expertise is derived in part from his patronage of many songs like this one. He shows his expertise not just by understanding this song but by commissioning Bacchylides in the first place. Ostentatious appeals to literary connoisseurship are disproportionately common in odes for monarchs. Poetic culture probably had special ideological significance for them, as their well-attested patronage of celebrated poets would suggest.⁴⁵

Pindar also highlights the past poetic experience of whole communities. Civic choral culture is repeatedly linked with civic glory. Thus, for example, Ceos is widely recognized for athletic success and dedication to poetry, as mentioned and embodied in a Pindaric paean (*Pae.* 4.21–4):

... δια-
 γινώσκομαι μὲν ἀρεταῖς ἀέθλων
 Ἑλλανίειν, γινώσκ[ο]μα[ι] δὲ καὶ
 μοῖαν παρέχων ἄλις.

... I am recognized for achievements in the Greek games, and I am also recognized for providing a lot of poetry.

Athletics are paired with poetry as matching sources of renown. It is hard to doubt the relevance of Simonides and Bacchylides and in particular their poems for fellow Ceans.⁴⁶

⁴³ O. 1.104, P. 3.80, 4.263, 6.49, I. 2.12, all of individuals and families who are the subject of multiple surviving works.

⁴⁴ Cf. Pind. O. 1.104, Maehler (1982–97) ii.86–7.

⁴⁵ See e.g. Podlecki (1980), Bonanno (2010) 186–97.

⁴⁶ Bacchylides 1, 2, 6, 7, 17; note also anon. *SLG* 460 (Simonides?); cf. Rutherford (2001a) 286 n. 17.

Pythian 8 describes a past revel for the victor at the games and then zooms out to describe Aegina's broader reputation in song (18–34):

ὃς εὐμενεῖ νόωι
 Ξενάρκειον ἔδεκτο Κίρραθεν ἔστεφανωμένον
 υἱὸν ποῖαι Παρνασσίδι Δωριεῖ τε κόμωι.
 ἔπεσε δ' οὐ Χαρίτων ἑκάς
 ἀδικαιοπόλις ἀρεταῖς
 κλειναῖσιν Αἰακιδᾶν
 θιγοῖσα νᾶρος· τέλεαν δ' ἔχει
 δόξαν ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς. πολλοῖσι μὲν γὰρ αἰεῖδεται
 νικαφόροις ἐν ἀέθλοις θρέψαισα καὶ θοαῖς
 ὑπερτάτους ἦρωας ἐν μάχαις.
 τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐμπρέπει.
 εἰμὶ δ' ἄσχολος ἀναθέμεν
 πᾶσαν μακραγορίαν
 λύραι τε καὶ φθέγματι μαλθακῶι,
 μὴ κόρος ἐλθὼν κνίσῃ. τὸ δ' ἐν ποσὶ μοι τράχον
 ἴτω τεὸν χρέος, ὦ παῖ, νεώτατον καλῶν,
 ἐμᾷ ποτανὸν ἀμφὶ μαχανᾷ.

[Apollo] accepted with kindly mind the son of Xenarces from Cirrha, crowned with Parnassian foliage and with a Doric victory revel. Not far from the Graces has fallen this just island community, which has attained the glorious achievements of the Aeacidae. It possesses ultimate fame from the beginning, since it is sung of for rearing heroes who were supreme in many victorious contests and in swift battles, and it is also distinguished for the achievements of its men. But I do not have the leisure to dedicate the whole long tale to the lyre and the gentle voice, lest tedium come and rankle [my audience]. But that debt owed to you, o boy, which runs in my path, the latest of [Aegina's] noble deeds, let it go forth soaring through my skill.

Mention of the victor's epinician revel at Delphi (18–20) instantiates the following generalization that Aegina has 'not fallen far from the Charites' (21), i.e. that the island is often celebrated in song.⁴⁷ As a result of this, Aegina now enjoys fame consonant with its ancient mythological heritage (24–5). The substance and media of this glory

⁴⁷ Cf. P. 10.37–9, Gentili et al. (1995) 569. ποῖαι Παρνασσίδι (P. 8.20) looks to ἀρεταῖς (22) as κόμωι (20) looks to Χαρίτων (21). Contrast Pfeijffer (1999a) 503: 'this line poetically states that Aegina is a beautiful and pleasant island.' Pindar does not praise Aegina's landscape so vaguely elsewhere; he often highlights its glory.

are explicated in the following sentence (25–7). The present-tense verb *αἰδεῖται* (25) and emphasis on plurality show that this refers to an ongoing poetic tradition embodied in, but not limited to, the present poem, which cannot contain all Aeginetan achievements (29–31). Probably this implicates, in chronological order, epics celebrating the Aeacidae and other epinicians celebrating adult Aeginetan victors. Pindar's new ode for a young victor will now fly beyond Aegina to become part of a tradition of poems celebrating the island (33–4). The young Aristomenes' recent athletic victory is only the most recent in a long history of Aeginetan accomplishments (*νεώτατον καλῶν*, 33)⁴⁸ and this ode is only the most recent poem to celebrate Aegina.

The victor is celebrated with *Nemean 7* because he inhabits an island of enthusiasts (7–10):

... παῖς ὁ Θεαρίωνος ἀρεταῖ κριθεῖς
 εὐδοξος αἰδεῖται *Ῥω-*
γένης μετὰ πενταέθλοισ.
 πόλιν γὰρ φιλόμολπον οἰκεῖ δορικτύπων
 Αἰακιδᾶν.

... Thearion's son Sogenes has been distinguished for excellence among pentathletes and is made famous in song because he dwells in the song-loving city of the spear-clattering Aeacidae.

The corpus of surviving victory odes amply justifies Pindar's praise.⁴⁹ *Isthmian 9* describes the Aeginetans as 'wise stewards of the Muses and of athletic contests' (*ταμίαι τε σοφοί | Μοικᾶν ἀγωνίων τ' ἀέθλων*, 7–8). The combination of poems and athletics might evoke earlier poetry celebrating athletics.

Often Pindar highlights the musico-poetic culture of a community without specific reference to epinician but with an emphasis on chorality that evinces the metatraditional quality of the description. Fr. 199, for instance, highlights choruses as one facet of Spartan culture: *ἔνθα βουλαὶ γερόντων | καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύουσιν αἰχμαί, | καὶ χοροὶ καὶ Μοῖσα καὶ Ἀγλαΐα*, 'there the counsels of old men and

⁴⁸ Contrast Pfeijffer (1999a) 517: 'of the demonstrations of your nobility, the newest'. *παῖ, νεώτατον καλῶν* (P. 8.33) connects and contrasts with *τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐμπρέπει* (28).

⁴⁹ Aeginetan epinicians: Pindar, 11 of 44; Bacchylides, 2 of 16. Note also Simonides 507.

the spears of young men and choruses and the Muse and splendour are supreme.⁵⁰ Civic choral culture was a real point of collective pride. A continuing custom is enacted by the citizen performers of each ode. Presumably communities could also play some role in ensuring the continued afterlife of poems, so descriptions of civic choral culture may connote not only a sophisticated premiere audience but also a subsequent reception among that audience.⁵¹

Allusions to previous commissions and traditions of poetry convey some idea of the relationships between artists and patrons through which Pindar's victory odes first found their place in the world. Probably there was a network of cultured elites spanning the Mediterranean; certainly Pindar is concerned to give the impression of such. Both *laudator* and *laudandus* are proud and self-conscious participants in a literary culture reaching through time and space. Sometimes references to past compositions suggest a sustained, ethical relationship between patron and author—something not necessarily associated with the pay-to-play system of commissioned poetry.⁵² Both conceptions of the poet's career found already in Homer—the poet as itinerant craftsman in demand (*Od.* 17.382–5) and the poet engaged in a stable relationship with his patron (*Od.* 8.105–6)—are implicated in Pindar's self-presentation, although to very unequal degrees.

Pindar's depictions of his first audiences guide the way that secondary audiences approach his poems.⁵³ The poet addresses sophisticated individuals, families, and communities with the knowledge and experience necessary to appreciate his work. Encountering these

⁵⁰ Cf. *O.* 10.14, 11.16–19, 13.22, *P.* 1.37–8 (projecting a future tradition), 10.37–9, *N.* 11.7, *I.* 9.7–9, fr. 198a, Pavese (1997) 328. When one examines these passages together, it becomes clear, I think, that they are references (at least primarily) to living performance cultures in the present, not to older local poets. See further *Ibyc.* S166.31, *Soph.* *OC* 691–2, *Eur. Med.* 830–3, [*Eur.*] *Rh.* 941–2, *Ar. Vesp.* 1060, *Eq.* 581–5, *Lys.* 1305–6, Kienle (1936) 74–6.

⁵¹ Civic reperforances: Herington (1985) 56, Currie (2004) 63–9, (2011) 309–10. *I.* 7.1–20 implies that this poem will be especially remembered in Thebes. In *Isthmian* 5 the Aeacidae are continually honoured on Aegina in lyric (27–8, 34–5); this lyric poem honouring them may be continually remembered on the island. Pindar's poem celebrating Athens' role in the Persian wars held a special place in Athenian cultural memory: see *Pind.* fr. 76, 77, *Ar. Ach.* 636–40, Olson (2002) 239, Rawles (2013) 177.

⁵² φίλαν . . . τράπεζαν (*O.* 1.16–17); ξείνον ἐμὸν ἡθαῖον (*I.* 2.48); *I.* 6.1–9.

⁵³ Cf. programmatic descriptions of learned dedicatees in later poetry: Gallus 145.8–9 Hollis with the reading of Capasso (2003) 44–8, Catull. 1.5–7, *Hor. Carm.* 1.1.35–6.

texts, one is invited to become a member of ‘the wise’ (σοφοί).⁵⁴ The odes appeal to a sort of wisdom that is not purely intellectual and literary but also moral and ideological.⁵⁵ The wise understand Pindar’s words and also the values which they reflect; they show themselves to be wise by valuing his work.⁵⁶ Secondary audiences may join this coterie. A cultivated air of erudition invites one to feel a sense of privileged understanding as Pindar’s poems work to create an expanding community of audiences founded on shared appreciation of his poetry and the values that it embodies (IV.1).

4. OTHER EULOGISTS

Pindar and Bacchylides almost certainly did not monopolize the evidently robust and widespread market for epinician poetry. ‘Both... present themselves as leaders in an environment in which there were many competing poets’ (Carey (2007) 206). The end of *Nemean* 4 depicts amateur praise. *Isthmian* 2 presumes a class of contemporary professionals in parallel with an older class of erotic poets (*Οἱ μὲν πάλαι*, 1). When speaking of ‘epinician poetry in the fifth century’, we must remember that this is not the same thing as ‘the epinician poetry of Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides’.⁵⁷ All that we can see is not all that there was. If Pindar’s *Olympian* 5 could be proven spurious, then one might attain a clearer, less prejudiced idea of the ambitions and capabilities of other authors. The sentence in the scholia that has aroused suspicion, however, is not easily understood, and arguments against authenticity on internal evidence are not overwhelming.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ O. 11.19, P. 9.78, 4.295, N. 8.41, I. 9.7, B. 3.85, Most (1986a) 313, Loscalzo (2003) 60–1.

⁵⁵ Cf. Bundy (1986) 26, Gladigow (1965) 39–56, Maehler (1963) 94–8, M. Griffith (1990) 188–9, Martin (2004) 362: ‘a key part of epinikion ideology is an affirmation of the truest solidarity.’

⁵⁶ Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 1048, Callim. *Aet.* fr. 1.29–30.

⁵⁷ Nicholson (2016a), (2016b) grapples with this issue. I am not ready to assume even that the class of ‘international’ professional poets was limited to just ‘the three famous epinician poets’ (Nicholson (2016b) 5).

⁵⁸ Σ inscr. a: αὐτῇ ἡ ὠιδῇ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐδαφίοις οὐκ ἦν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Διδύμου ὑπομνήμασιν ἐλέγετο Πινδάρου. See F. Ferrari (2006) and especially Ruffa (2001). On the internal evidence against authenticity see Mader (1990) 109–13 with bibliography; contrast Barrett (2007) 46–53, who speaks of ‘some backwoods poet’ (50).

If this poem is not by Pindar, then this would have far-reaching implications for our understanding of his period: a) an unknown poet drew from the same store of epinician convention as Bacchylides and Pindar; b) patrons who commissioned Pindar also commissioned other, similar poets; c) there were poets unknown to us skilled enough to be mistaken for Pindar by ancient and modern scholars. None of these statements ought to strike one as implausible; each would have great historical significance.

Pindar's unquestionably authentic poems often depict a background of lesser lights. Such generalized references denote a type, not specific individuals.⁵⁹ Other eulogists are not always marked explicitly as poets, but the fact that they are compared to the epinician narrator entails some shared orientation. Antitypes highlight outstanding aspects of Pindar's art.

The metapoetic language of epinician is often competitive and sometimes explicitly refers to other competitors (ὑπὲρ πολλῶν τε τιμαλφεῖν λόγοις, *N.* 9.54; μακρὰ δὲ ῥίψαις ἀμεύσαθ' ἀντίους, *P.* 1.45).⁶⁰ In *Olympian* 13, Pindar disputes with many others (44–6):

... δηρίομαι πολέειν
περὶ πλήθει καλῶν· ὥς μὰν καφέε
οὐκ ἄν εἰδείην λέγειν
ποντιᾶν ψάφων ἀριθμόν.

... I fight with many about the multitude of their fine achievements, for truly I would not know with confidence how to state the number of the pebbles of the sea.

The poet gives the best account of his endless theme by refusing to offer a precise account. Similarly, in *Olympian* 2 the unskilled defeat their purposes by obscuring their subject with their own verbiage

⁵⁹ Carey (1981) 50–1, Lefkowitz (1991) 149–50, (2012) 66, D. L. Cairns (2010) 6. It might be thought implausible that Pindar would revile poets whom his patrons thought good enough to commission. On the dual at *O.* 2.87 see Kirkwood (1981), who argues for a proverbial pair rather than a covert reference to Simonides and Bacchylides; cf. Loscalzo (2003) 38–9. Pindar's numerous other attacks on a notional class support this reading. I doubt that for fifth-century Greeks this period of literary history was conceived as a drama of intrigue enacted between three and only three protagonists.

⁶⁰ One need not suppose that many poets in fact regularly competed in the praise of a single victory, yet Pindar's agonistic rhetoric indirectly points to historical realities.

while erroneously suggesting that their theme could be adequately expressed (95–100).

Pythian 4 proclaims its author's leadership within a large field: πολλοῖσι δ' ἄγῃμαι σοφίας ἑτέροις, 'I am the leader in skill for many others' (248). The 'others' in question are other poets, and it is implied that they will follow the example set here.⁶¹ This break-off passage hinges on a distinctively Pindaric rhetoric of brevity and concision.⁶² Like Aristophanes after him (*Pax* 739–53), Pindar here meditates on his own role in influencing contemporary poetics. Like Aristophanes and Callimachus after him,⁶³ he is interested in self-consciously advancing an aesthetic programme embodied throughout a corpus of work.

In *Nemean* 3 a professional elucidates the worth of his product by contrasting it with inferior wares (76–84):

ἐγὼ τόδε τοι
 πέμπω μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῶι
 σὺν γάλακτι, κιρναμένα δ' ἔερς ἀμφέπει,
 πόμ' αἰοίδιμον Αἰολίccιν ἐν πνοαῖcιν αὐλῶν,
 ὁψέ περ. ἔcτι δ' αἰετὸς ὠκὺς ἐν ποτανοῖc,
 ὃς ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος,
 δαφρονὸν ἄγρην ποcίν
 κραγέται δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται.
 τίν γε μέν, εὐθρόνου Κλεοῦς ἐθελοί-
 ςας, ἀεθλοφόρου λήματος ἔνεκεν
 Νεμέας Ἐπιδαυρόθεν τ' ἄπο καὶ Μεγάρων δέδορκεν φάος.

Farewell, friend. I am sending you this mixture of honey with white milk, which the stirred foam crowns, a drink of glorious song accompanied by the Aeolian breaths of *auloi*, late though it is. The eagle is swift among birds, which suddenly snatches, searching from afar, the bloodied quarry in its feet, while the cawing jackdaws spend their time down below. But for you, since fair-throned Cleo is willing and because of your victorious determination, from Nemea, Epidauros, and Megara shines the light of glory.

⁶¹ Cf. B. fr. 5.1–2, Ar. *Nub.* 554–5, 559, Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.10–11.

⁶² οἶμον ἱcαμι βραχύν (*P.* 4.248); cf. *P.* 9.76–8. Such rhetoric of concision is characteristically Pindaric (but not exclusively so: cf. B. 10.51–2, Bernardini (1967) 84–5).

⁶³ Aristophanes: see Bakola (2008) 4–10, who rightly stresses a connection with archaic lyric; Callimachus: *Aet.* fr. 1.21–9, *Hy.* 2.107–13.

The victor could have commissioned another, less distinguished poet—presumably with less expense and without unusual delay.⁶⁴ But his glory would not have been secured by an inferior eulogist. Throughout this passage, Pindar is compared to lesser poets. A *syncrisis* between the victor and other athletes in lines 80–2 would sever the connection in thought between the avian imagery and the preceding lines about this poem.⁶⁵ With the sentence beginning *τὶν γε μὲν* (83), the primary contrast is still between Pindar and other poets, but it is now articulated indirectly in terms of what they can do: other poets do not reach the heights of achievement in perpetuating the glory of their subject; Aristocleides, thanks to Pindar's poem, will be remembered.⁶⁶ *Κλεοῦς ἐθελόϊσας* (83) shows that poetry remains at issue until the end. Cleo's name encapsulates the point of the comparison being made.

A generalized foil throws into relief the excellence of Pindar, who is identified with the less common species, 'the great eagle, king of birds' (*ἀρχὸν οἰωνῶν μέγαν αἰετόν*, I. 6.50; cf. B. 5.16–23). One recalls the world of epic simile, in which a single superior animal sometimes overpowers a group from a lesser species (e.g. *Il.* 15.690–4, 16.582–3, 17.755–9). The onomatopoetic *κραγέται* (82), unsuited to athletes, connotes an ugly sound and hence bad poetry.⁶⁷ *ταπεινὰ νέμονται* (82) denigrates a habitual and innate inferiority. Emphasis on speed and contrasts with antitypes link the description of Pindar in lines 80–4 with an earlier description of Achilles in lines 40–7.⁶⁸ Like the victor and his mythical analogue, the poet also excels through innate excellence and achieves the light of glory (cf. *ψεφεννός*, 41; *φέγγος*, 64; *φάος*, 84). Though slow to execute (80), Pindar is, like the eagle, quick in reaching his goal, namely his patron's fame, which is proclaimed in the final words of the ode (83–4). For artists, as for athletes, excellence becomes manifest only in competition with their rivals (cf. 70–1).

⁶⁴ Cf. the ready-made ode at Ar. Av. 920–2.

⁶⁵ Contrast Stoneman (1976) 194, who asserts that 'there is no need to assume a connection of thought at all'. Cf. Bernardini (1977) 124.

⁶⁶ Cf. O. 10.91–4, Bowra *apud* Denniston 387. Contrast Pfeijffer (1994) 314–15, (1999a) 222–3, Morgan (2015) 128.

⁶⁷ Cf. *λάβροι* (O. 2.86), *λυγύφθογγοι* (B. 5.23) with D. L. Cairns (2010) 221.

⁶⁸ *ποσσὶ γὰρ κράτεσκε* (N. 3.52) → *ἔλαβεν... δαφουινὸν ἄγραν ποσὶν* (81), both of hunting. Steiner (2007) 190 somewhat vaguely identifies Pindar's goal as the 'perfectly apposite treatment of his theme'.

Nemean 4 articulates a similar contrast between Pindar's enduring ode and the ineffectual efforts of others and also highlights innate excellence. He resists the temptation to curtail his treatment of mythological themes (33–43):

τὰ μακρὰ δ' ἐξενέπειν ἐρύκει με τεθμός
 ὦραί τ' ἐπειγόμεναι·
 ἵγγι δ' ἔλκομαι ἥτορ νεομηνίαι θιγέμεν.
 ἔμπα, καίπερ ἔχει βαθεῖα ποντιάς ἄλμα
 μέσσον, ἀντίτειν' ἐπιβουλία· σφόδρα δόξομεν
 δαῖων ὑπέρτεροι ἐν φάει καταβαίνειν·
 φθονερά δ' ἄλλος ἀνὴρ βλέπων
 γνώμαν κενεὰν σκότῳ κυλίνδει
 χαμαὶ πετοῖσαν. ἔμοι δ' ὅποιαν ἀρετάν
 ἔδωκε Πότμος ἄναξ,
 εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι χρόνος ἔρπων πεπρωμέναν τελέσει.

But a law [of song] and the hurrying hours keep me from telling in full the long tale; and by a love charm I am drawn in my heart to touch upon the festival of the new moon. Nevertheless, although the deep salt sea holds you by the middle, resist its plotting. We shall very much be seen to complete our journey in radiance, supreme over our foes. Some other man, with a look of envy in his eyes, rolls along in the dark an empty thought that falls to the ground. But whatever sort of excellence lord Destiny has granted to me, well I know that time as it advances will bring it to its destined end.

The speaker here is not the victor himself or some faceless everyman but the composer who decides how this poem will proceed.⁶⁹ As if composing extemporaneously (cf. *αὐτίκα*, 44), Pindar meditates on what will ensure the lasting success of his work now unfolding in the present moment of performance. Reflecting on the course of his composition and its future afterlife, he here enacts the generalization to which the proem of this ode leads: *ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει, | ὅ τι κε σὺν Χαρίτων τύχαι | γλῶσσαι φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας*, 'for that saying lives longer than deeds, whichever, with the Graces' blessing, the tongue draws from the deep mind' (6–8). *χρόνος ἔρπων* (43) recalls *χρονιώτερον* (6). In lines 33–43 the passage of time and

⁶⁹ My understanding of this passage is in substantial agreement with Miller (1983), Bulman (1992) 63, Palaiogeorgou (2003), Lattmann (2010) 128–31; contrast Köhnken (1971) 205–12, Kyriakou (1996). Pindar does continue treating myth: *καὶ τὸδ' αὐτίκα* (N. 4.44). The enormous sea represents his vast topic (*βαθεῖα ποντιάς ἄλμα*, N. 4.36→*Γαδείρων τὸ πρὸς ζόφον*, 69), which threatens to overwhelm him (cf. O. 13.114).

with it later reception will reveal the extent of the author's fated skill.⁷⁰ The future *δόξομεν* (37) appeals to an impending public judgement and looks both to the rest of the poem and its afterlife. The fate of this work emerges through a contrast with its antitype (cf. *P.* 2.58–63): it will achieve the light of fame (contrast *κρότωι*, 40) and soar abroad (contrast *χαμαὶ πετοῖσαν*, 41). This elucidates what it means to 'complete our journey in the light of glory and safety superior to our foes' (38).⁷¹ The immediate time frame of first performance exerts its own pressure (*ᾠραι*, 34; *νεομηγῖαι*, 35), but Pindar sets his sights higher and looks to the long term. An individual, innate quality (41–3; cf. *O.* 9.26) licenses him to set aside convention (*τεθμός*, 33). The romantic mythology of Pindar as a unique genius starts with Pindar himself.⁷²

According to his own poems, Pindar stands out among a field of contemporary praise poets. The far-flung and prestigious commissions attested in his surviving works show that this self-representation was not merest professional puffery without any basis in reality. It is in large part the ability to create works transcending their first performance that, according to Pindar, sets him apart from his peers (cf. *IV.4*). In attempting to tie his victory odes closely to their premiere performance, one risks assimilating them to a sort of poetry from which they work to disassociate themselves. Pindar, like Aristophanes after him, deploys the poetics of canonicity to set himself apart from his coevals.⁷³

Both Pindar and Bacchylides present themselves as, and seem in actual fact to have been, 'major' authors within a field that encompassed other, similar poets. Our understanding of their rhetoric and

⁷⁰ Bulman (1992) 66: 'time... will prove false the mere technician who, out of excessive allegiance to encomiastic law, disrespects its spirit.' Cf. *N.* 7.67–9, Bion fr. 8.1–2 Gow, Kyriakou (1996) 22, Palaiogeorgou (2003) 265.

⁷¹ *καταβαίνειν* (*N.* 4.38), looking back to the preceding sea imagery, does not mean 'enter the lists'; contrast Bulman (1992) 64–5, Pfeijffer (1999a) 657. It means rather 'complete the journey, arrive': cf. *O.* 7.13, LSJ⁹ s.v. II.1, Henry (2005) 36. It is irrelevant how one *starts* a competition relative to one's opponents (*N.* 3.70–1). The speaker will not drown but complete his journey. *ἐν φάει* (*N.* 4.38) combines physical salvation and poetic glory: cf. *P.* 3.75, *Pae.* 2.68.

⁷² Cf. Lefkowitz (2012) 66. P. Wilson (1980) 102: 'Pindar... plays an unusually conscious role in the founding of his own reputation.'

⁷³ Cf. Telò (2016) 6: 'the *parabasis* of *Peace* toys with the discourse of dramatic canonicity, framing the comic poet's self-presentation as an elevation of his particular mode to a generic norm.'

their historical circumstances is hampered by our profound ignorance of comparable 'minor' authors from the same period. Pindar implies that, while his work will be remembered, the work of others will be consigned to oblivion; such has proved to be the case.⁷⁴ One thinks of tragedians who were clearly and not without reason regarded by many of their contemporaries as serious talents but who are now primarily remembered for being derided in comedy. A later representation of a decidedly 'minor' poet akin to Pindar and Bacchylides can help us to understand better both their self-presentation and also the sort of realities behind that rhetoric.

In Aristophanes' *Birds* a travelling professional poet arrives on stage in order to outfit the recently founded Cloud-cuckoo-land with choral lyric poetry. Scholars have reasonably supposed that this figure, like other tradesmen who offer their services to the fledgling city in the following lines, constituted a realistic type familiar to Aristophanes' audience.⁷⁵ Poets like this, in other words, were probably (still) around near the end of the fifth century. Aristophanes' hack is a caricature, but the caricature aims at reality. He represents himself as a card-carrying member of a recognizable class (πάντες ἐσμὲν οἱ διδάσκαλοι, 912) and cites Simonides (919) and Pindar (939) as fellow members of that class. Invoking a script sanctified by precedent, he invites Peisetairus to play the poor man's Hieron to his poor man's Pindar (925–45; cf. Pind. fr. 105).

Aristophanes' poetaster assimilates himself to older canonical poets, but the differences are far more salient. Pindar and Bacchylides were manifestly professional successes, and their work highlights that fact; the indigent itinerant poet of the *Birds* is an abject professional failure. Like the iambic poet Hipponax (fr. 32), he has to beg for clothes to protect himself from the cold (941–5). Bacchylides is 'persuaded' (πείθομαι, B. 5.195) to celebrate the supremely wealthy Hieron and was rewarded handsomely, one may imagine, for doing so (Xen. *Hier.* 1.13); the poet of the *Birds* has to persuade someone to give him a meagre reward—a slave's tunic (946–8). Pindar and Bacchylides present themselves as being sought after and in demand (Pind.

⁷⁴ Cf. Colesanti and Giordano (2014) on 'submerged literature' and Moretti (2000) on 'the slaughterhouse of literature' in another period.

⁷⁵ Loscalzo (2005) 224, Martin (2009) 84. It is worth noting that the poet of the *Birds* is patently insincere and unspontaneous, two traits from which the Pindaric speaking voice is particularly concerned to disassociate itself.

I. 1.1–2, B. 10.9–10); the poet of the *Birds* shows up unwanted and uncalled for, chasing down a sales lead (924–5). Bacchylides and Pindar call attention to their pre-existing reputations and imprint their individual authorial identities onto their work; the itinerant poet of the *Birds* is a nobody: ‘who are you?’, asks Peisetaurus (τίς εἶ, 906). ‘Whatever his rivals are—he, Pindar, just like the victors he has always celebrated, is someone’ (Most (2012) 276). People already knew who ‘the Cean nightingale’ was (B. 3.98). The poet of the *Birds* leaves the stage without having been dignified with a name. His identity is entirely subsumed into the generic designation ‘poet’ (916, 934, 947). ‘La sua persona, come la sua poesia, non ha un’identità propria’ (Catenacci (2007) 245). Pindar and his poetry emphatically do have a distinct identity.

Pindar’s *Olympian* 4 inaugurates the glory of the recently refounded Camarina (κῦδος ὄρσαι, 11);⁷⁶ the poet of the *Birds* enters the stage with a promise to inaugurate the glory of the newly founded Cloud-cuckoo-land, defines his task as doing so, and, after receiving a reward, exits the stage into the city trying to put his promise into action (κλῆτικον, 905; κλῆιζω, 921; κλῆικον, 950). Hawking a new instantiation of a known and proven product, professional lyric poetry, his allusions to and citations of older lyric poets exploit his prospective patron’s knowledge of earlier works which already had achieved canonical status—as Pindar’s work evidently had done by the time of the first performance of Aristophanes’ *Birds*, around three decades after the end of Pindar’s career. This anonymous poetaster, however, is far too trite and derivative for his hope to achieve renown to be anything besides laughable. There is good reason to believe that the similar rhetoric of Pindar and Bacchylides was not similarly absurd. Aristophanes’ hack allows us to get a somewhat better sense of the sort of ‘minor’ poetry which they define themselves against.

5. EPINICIAN REVELS

Pindar and Bacchylides mention epinician celebrations at the site of the games, sometimes briefly within victory catalogues (e.g. B. 12.37:

⁷⁶ Barrett (2007) 42: ‘the verb—to get it going, set it moving—implies clearly enough the production of glory where there has been none before’; cf. *P.* 1.35–8.

ἐκ]ωμάεσθην). At least some such celebrations involved song (ῥυμνων, N. 5.42; ὀμφαί, N. 10.34). The victor (N. 10.33–5) and his homeland (B. 6.5–6) may be the object of celebration.⁷⁷ These victory revels were genealogically related to the occasions behind literary epinician (VI.2), but it is unclear if they ever also included a lasting poetic element more or less like Pindar's odes or were always remembered only as ephemeral events.

Nemean 5 exemplifies recurrent uncertainties: τὸ δ' Αἰγίναθε δῖς, Εὐθύμενες, | Νίκας ἐν ἀγκώνεσσι πίτνων ποικίλων ἔψαυσας ῥυμνων, 'Euthymenes, twice from Aegina you fell into Victory's arms and touched on varied songs' (41–2). Movement from Aegina to triumph and song suggests two previous epinician celebrations at the games.⁷⁸ This inference is buttressed by preceding mention of performances at the Isthmus (37–9). But precisely what did Euthymenes enjoy? ποικίλων (42) could describe a sophisticated artefact like a Pindaric ode or nothing more complex than a chant.⁷⁹ The description is too brief for us to determine precisely what is being described. Poems performed at the games could have existed but not lasted. The traditional revel could have been presumed to have taken place even if no textual record survived.⁸⁰

Other passages point in contradictory directions. One need not assume that the same phenomenon lies behind all. *Olympian* 9 describes a revel accompanied by a song attributed to Archilochus (1–4). φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπίαι, 'sounding at Olympia' (2), refers to a recurrent custom. Some odes link past revels with enduring reputations. In *Isthmian* 4, τοιάδε τῶν τότε ἑόντων φύλλ' αἰοιδᾶν, 'such leaves of song as these from men who lived then' (27), explicitly connects Pindar's poem with epinician songs from a previous generation. It is not clear that these epinicians were performed at the sites of the games, though they are metaphorically linked with the herald's announcement (καρύξαια, 25). Pindar earlier mentions a multitude of 'testimonies' to

⁷⁷ Characters in drama imagine improvising victory songs: Eur. *El.* 864–5, *HF* 180, 680–1, Ar. *Nub.* 1204–5, fr. 505 PCG, Lawler (1948), Macleod (1983) 49–51, Carey (2012) 34. Improvised choral songs are, in terms of actual performance, simply unthinkable.

⁷⁸ For text and interpretation see Carey (1989b) 292–5, Fearn (2007) 344–6; contrast Pfeijffer (1999a) 169–70, Adorjani (2010).

⁷⁹ On musical variety see M. L. West (1992a) 345–6, LeVen (2013).

⁸⁰ N. 11.27–8: πενταετηρίδ' ἑορτὰν Ἡρακλέος τέθμιον | κωμάαις. The counterfactual nature of the sentence suggests a standard expectation.

the fame of this family, and these could include preserved victory odes.⁸¹ *Nemean* 6 describes the accumulated athletic glory of a household (31–4) and then an epinician celebration at Delphi more than half a century earlier (36–8). The Bassidae are perhaps said to preserve a lot of victory odes (32; VII.6).

Did epinician celebrations at the games produce lasting odes? One must pronounce *non liquet*. I incline towards the negative. Yet the uncertain factual question of *what* Pindar describes may be subordinated in each instance to the more productive interpretative question of *why* he mentions revels at the games. He sometimes invokes these celebrations as precedent for his own work and sometimes emphasizes his higher ambitions. The pursuit of different rhetorical ends can lead him to stress connections with the traditional revel or to distance his literary ode from its comastic congener. It is consistently rewarding to tease out lines of comparison and contrast between a description of a past epinician revel and the framing epinician poem.

Nemean 10 exemplifies how even a passing reference to past epinician celebration may advance larger themes and enrich an entire poem. Pindar describes the reputation of the victor's family: *ἔπεται δέ, Θεαῖε, ματρώων πολύγνωντον γένος ὑμετέρων | εὐάγων τιμὰ Χαρίτεσσιν τε καὶ σὺν Τυνδαρίδασι θαμάκις*, 'Theaeus, honour from athletic victory often follows the famous race of your mother's ancestors with the help of the Graces and the Tyndaridae' (37–8). *θαμάκις* (38) and the present *ἔπεται* (37) describe a repeated phenomenon exemplified in, but not limited to, the current poem. The Tyndaridae bestow athletic success; the Charites, as often, represent music and poetry.⁸² Connoting the 'double crown' of achievement and celebration, these divinities together make the family renowned (*πολύγνωντον*, 37). This prestige is further explicated in the following lines: any member of this family can hold his head high in Argos because of their many victories exalting the whole community (39–42).⁸³

⁸¹ I. 4.9–11: ὅσσα δ' ἔπ' ἀνθρώπους ἄηται | μαρτύρια φθιμένων ζώων τε φωτῶν | ἀπλέτου δόξας, ἐπέψανσαν κατὰ πᾶν τέλος.

⁸² For the role of the Dioscouri cf. O. 3.35–41, P. 5.9, N. 10.49–51, Theoc. 22.24 with Gow (1950) ii.387. The Charites are frequently associated with celebration; they do not determine athletic success. O. 6.75–6 is not a counterexample; O. 14.19–20 is a special case. On the 'double crown' see Race (1990) 194.

⁸³ Ἀργεῖ μὴ κρύπτειν φάος | ὀμμάτων (N. 10.40–1) describes pride in face-to-face interactions; contrast Kurke (1991) 27 n. 34. Hiding one's eyes conveys shame: Eur. HF 1198–1200; cf. Pind. N. 7.65–6, D. L. Cairns (2005b) 130–1.

The generalization in lines 37–8 follows one past instantiation of the ‘double crown’: ἀδείαι γε μὲν ἀμβολάδαν | ἐν τελεταῖς δις Ἀθηναίων νιν ὀμφαί | κώμασαν, ‘yet, as a prelude, twice in the rites of the Athenians did sweet voices celebrate him in a revel’ (33–5). The Dioscouri and Charites here manifest their influence in musical revels for athletic success. An athletic career becomes a musico-poetic performance: celebrations after minor victories form a ‘prelude’ to a climactic Olympic triumph still to come (29–33; cf. *N.* 2.1–12, 24–5). One thinks of Pindar’s present poem as forming another part of the same ‘performance’ of Theaeus’ career. These earlier revels at Athens, however, probably did not produce a lasting poem like *Nemean* 10. There may be an implicit contrast between the ephemeral revel at the games and the prize amphorae that return to Argos as a memorial (35–6).

In part through a description of past epinician revels, Pindar conveys an impression of a family with an established reputation, to which his new work contributes. The closing myth of *Nemean* 10 reflects the contribution to this pre-existing legacy made by the literary victory ode. As Young (1993) persuasively argues, the afterlife of the half-immortal Dioscouri is analogous to the quasi-immortality which a victor attains through an enduring ode.⁸⁴ While Young elucidates the exemplary function of the Dioscouri, he neglects some aspects of the implicit comparison that makes it especially appropriate to Theaeus, who owes his success to his family’s character and history (49–51). Polydeuces’ reasons for preferring death to life without his brother bear on the victor’s individual circumstances: οἴχεται τιμὰ φίλων τατωμένωι φωτί, ‘honour is gone when a man is deprived of his friends’ (78). Theaeus and his relatives enjoy honour in Argos through their relationship to a celebrated family, their very closest ‘friends’ (φίλοι).⁸⁵ Through Pindar’s poem, they will also enjoy together another form of honour, an immortality in poetry that is analogous to the afterlife of the Dioscouri. Athletic victory and its attendant comastic revels have already won for this family the right to hold their head high in their local community; Pindar’s victory ode implicitly promises them a related but superior honour beyond the short reach of those voices that once celebrated Theaeus in Athens.

⁸⁴ Other closing mythical analogues for poetic immortality, itself a common closing theme: *O.* 10.104–5, *P.* 3.112–15, 11.59–64, *N.* 1.69–72.

⁸⁵ τιμὰ (*N.* 10.38) → τιμὰ (78). See Blundell (1989) 39–40 on family as φίλοι.

The next subsection looks more closely at an ode that uses a previous epinician revel at the games in order to point up the higher ambitions of Pindar's epinician poetry.

6. NEMEAN 6

Nemean 6, like *Isthmian* 4, engages a two-fold legacy and refers both to older epinician celebrations and to older epic poetry attributed to Homer in Pindar's day. This 'glorifying wind of verse' (οὐρον ἐπέων | εὐκλέα, 28b–9) celebrates an island and a clan both already glorious in their own right (νᾶσον εὐκλέα, 46; κλειτᾶι γενεᾶι, 61). This ode exemplifies Pindar's characteristic uses of victory revels at the games and epic poetry: he stresses parallels with traditional epinician celebration but associates his own art more closely with canonical epic and its reach through space and time.

The Bassidae, whose reputation is described at considerable length (8–22, 34–44), claim more boxing garlands than any other Greek household (24–6). Pindar takes aim at this illustrious subject (28–34):

εὖ-
θιν' ἐπὶ τοῦτον, ἄγε, Μοῖσα,
οὐρον ἐπέων
εὐκλέα· παροικομένων γὰρ ἀνέρων
ἀοιδαὶ καὶ λόγοι τὰ καλά σφιν ἔργ' ἐκόμισαν,
Βασσίδαειν ἃ τ' οὐ σπανίζει· παλαίφατος γενεά,
ἴδια ναυστολέοντες ἐπι-
κώμια, Πιερίδων ἀρόταις
δυνατοὶ παρέχειν πολὺν ὕμνον ἀγερώχων ἐργμάτων
ἐνεκεν.

Come, Muse, aim at this [house] a glorious wind of verses, for when men are dead and gone, songs and words preserve their noble deeds for them. And of such deeds the Bassidae are not wanting: a family famed of old, they ferry their own shipload of victory songs and are able to supply the Pierians' ploughmen much to sing about because of their lordly accomplishments.

The Bassidae require a 'glorifying breeze' (28b–9) since verbal commemoration alone confers posthumous remembrance. They already have a considerable body of accomplishments to be remembered.

ναυστολέοντες (32), evoking Aegina's well-known mercantilism,⁸⁶ connotes abundance (cf. οὐ σπανίζει, 31; παλαίφατος, 31; πολλὸν ὕμνον, 33). The sailing metaphor depicts familial history as a continuous collective enterprise spanning generations.

In precisely what sense do the Bassidae traffic shiploads of their own epinicians? A close parallel from Bacchylides suggests that they furnish poets with much material for praise.⁸⁷ On this reading, 'trafficking shiploads of epinician' is glossed by the following clause (Πιερίδων ἀρόταις | δυνατοὶ παρέχειν πολλὸν ὕμνον, 32–3). A description of the family's extensive accomplishments persuades the Muse of their attractiveness as a theme (cf. O. 11.16–20, N. 10.2–3).

Diction and context support a further possibility, which is not incompatible with this dominant sense. Pindar may refer to previous odes for the Bassidae and not merely their previous accomplishments. ἴδια . . . ἐπικώμια (32), in other words, could refer to preserved older epinicians and not just subject matter for a new epinician. On this reading, Pindar's task of praising the Bassidae would be easy because they have already been celebrated in similar works (cf. I. 2.30–4). *Nemean* 6 is one of several and not the earliest surviving epinician for the family. It would not be surprising if such an ambitious clan took an active interest in not only commissioning odes but also in preserving them and even perhaps actively promoting their dissemination (ναυστολέοντες, 32).⁸⁸

Pindar certainly refers to a background of previous epinician celebration, if not preserved epinician poetry. A specific example follows the generalization about the Bassidae's accomplishments.⁸⁹ Callias, probably the victor's grand-uncle,⁹⁰ long ago triumphed at Delphi

⁸⁶ Cf. Hubbard (2004) 89. Kowalzig (2011) discusses Aegina's 'ideology of connectivity' (145).

⁸⁷ ὁ[λ]κάδ' ἔπειμψεν ἐμοὶ χρυσέαν . . . πολυ[φάτων] γέμονσαν ὕμνων (B. 16.2–4; cf. Pind. fr. dub. 355). ἐπικώμια (N. 6.32) as 'material for epinicians': cf. LSJ⁹ s.v. αἰοιδή I.4, ὕμνος (Pind. O. 1.8) with Gerber (1982) 26.

⁸⁸ Cf. N. 5.2–3. Thrasybulus is perhaps encouraged to promote the dissemination of *Isthmian* 2 (44–6). Family archives as a repository for texts: Wilamowitz (1900) 40, Herington (1985) 46. Schmid (1998) 73–4 posits that our passage refers to written poems; cf. Loscalzo (2003) 108–9. Poems for the Bassidae: *Nemean* 5, *Isthmian* 5, 6, Bacchylides 13.

⁸⁹ καὶ γάρ (N. 6.34); cf. P. 9.42, Fraenkel (1957) 185–6.

⁹⁰ Carey (1989a) 7–8, Gerber (1999) 48–9; contrast Burnett (2005) 161 n. 16, Henry (2005) 59–60.

and was there celebrated with song: *παρὰ Κασταλίαν τε Χαρίτων | ἐσπέριος ὀμάδωι φλέγειν*, ‘in the evening by the Castalian spring he was ablaze with the Graces’ clamour’ (37–8). This past victory is one reason why the Bassidae are ‘famous of old’ (31). This celebration, if it was preserved in a poem, could exemplify their epinician cargo (32). One is perhaps to infer, as Carey (1989a) 8 proposes, that Callias has perished.⁹¹ His epinician celebration—in addition to Pindar’s ode—might then substantiate the previous generalization about the power of poetry to preserve accomplishments after an individual’s death (29–30; cf. *P.* 1.92–8).

Here we run into familiar uncertainties. Callias’ revel was more probably remembered only through a prose oral tradition rather than through a lasting poem that debuted on that occasion.⁹² However this may be, one can still say something about the rhetorical function of these lines. On the one hand, earlier epinician celebration provides a validating precedent for Pindar’s newest epinician celebration for the Bassidae. On the other hand, it also serves as foil for the author’s more sophisticated work. Callias was feted at Delphi on the night after his victory, not by a well-known poet at home on Aegina some time after the games. *Χαρίτων . . . ὀμάδωι* (37–8) entails more enthusiasm than art. The noun elsewhere tends to describe ‘unmusical din’ (Bury (1890) 109). Gerber (1999) 69 suggests that the word here ‘is intended to convey something of the riotous atmosphere, the less restrained singing and dancing than that which would accompany or follow the formal victory ode’. This boisterous earlier revel was closely bound to one particular evening at one particular place (cf. *O.* 9.1–4); Pindar’s ode, as we shall see, has higher aspirations.

In *Nemean* 6 Pindar’s relationship to his patrons’ past parallels his relationship to Aegina’s mythical past. Singing what has been sung before is a unifying theme. The topic of past accomplishments provides a gliding transition between celebratory programme and myth (45–9):

*πλατεῖαι πάντοθεν λογίοισιν ἐντὶ πρόσδοι
νᾶσον εὐκλέα τάνδε κοσμεῖν· ἐπεὶ σφιν Αἰακίδαι*

⁹¹ Praxidamas, the victor’s grandfather (*N.* 6.15–18), triumphed in 544 (Paus. 6.18.7), more than half a century before *Nemean* 6. Callias will not have won at Delphi dramatically later. For the approximate date of *Nemean* 6 see Fearn (2007) 342–50 and D. L. Cairns (2007).

⁹² *ᾠοῖδαι καὶ λόγοι* (*N.* 6.30). See Henry (2005) 61 for the text.

ἔπορον ἔξοχον αἶσαν ἀρε-
 τὰς ἀποδεικνύμενοι μεγάλας,
 πέταται δ' ἐπὶ τε χθόνα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσας τηλόθεν
 ὄνυμ' αὐτῶν.

There are wide approaches from every side for those versed in tales to adorn this famous island, because the Aeacidae have given them an exceptional portion by displaying great achievements, and their name flies far over the land and through the sea.

The Aeacidae, like the Bassidae, give eulogists much to praise.⁹³ In grammar and sense, lines 45–7 parallel an earlier description of the victor's family, another Aeginetan clan with a tradition of excellence spanning generations (Πιερίδων ἀρόταις | δυνατοὶ παρέχειν πολὺν ὕμνον ἀγερῶχων ἐργμάτων | ἔνεκιν, 32–4; *cf.* *Ἀιακίδαι* | ἔπορον ἔξοχον αἶσαν ἀρετὰς ἀποδεικνύμενοι μεγάλας, 46–7). The Theban Pindar has no difficulty in approaching (πρόσοδοι, 45) Aegina with praise in part because the glory of its heroes already flies far beyond the island (πέταται . . . τηλόθεν, 48)—in part through well-known poems including the *Aethiopsis*, a work to which the following lines ostentatiously refer.

The myth of Achilles in *Nemean* 6, like the myth of Ajax in *Isthmian* 4, is as much about events as about their literary depiction. Pindar highlights his reliance not on the immortal Muses but rather on a mortal tradition (49–54):

καὶ ἐς Αἰθίοπας
 Μέμνονος οὐκ ἀπονοστή-
 σαντος ἔπαλτο· βαρὺ δέ *cf.*
 νείκος Ἀχιλεὺς
 ἔμπεσε χαμαὶ καταβαῖς ἀφ' ἁρμάτων,
 φαεινῆς νιδὸν εὖτ' ἐνᾶριξεν Ἄόος ἀκμᾷ
 ἔγχεος ζακότοιο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν παλαιότεροι
 ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτὸν εὖρον· ἔπο-
 μαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων μελέταν.

[The name of the Aeacidae] leapt even to the Ethiopians, when Memnon did not come home. Upon them fell a heavy antagonist, Achilles, after descending to the ground from his chariot, when he slayed the son of radiant Dawn

⁹³ The antecedent of *cf.* (N. 6.46) could be implicit in *νᾶσον* (46). This is less attractive than the more obvious antecedent *λογίοισιν* (45), which is also supported by the parallel idea in lines 32–4; contrast Gerber (1999) 73.

with the point of his raging spear. Men of old discovered in these things a highway [of song], and I too follow along, making it my concern.

It is crucial to Pindar's rhetorical purposes that his tale is associated with a well-known poetic source. Achilles' duel with Memnon was a central episode of the *Aethiopis* (arg. 2 *GEF*), as its very title suggests. The 'approaches' (πρόοδοι, 45) available to Pindar in praising Aegina are both metaphorically and practically cognate with the path of this epic (ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτόν, 54), which he elsewhere refers to as a canonical poem and as the work of Homer.⁹⁴ 'Highway of song' (54) evokes frequent use and thereby the characteristic popularity of epic attributed to Homer in Pindar's day. This material was once 'discovered' (εὔρον, 54), but now a younger poet, like others, retraces an established course (ἐπομαι δὲ καὶ αὐτός, 54). As Pindar remembers and in a sense reiterates Callias' past epinician celebration within his own new epinician ode, so too his tale of Achilles' duel with Memnon looks back to and reiterates an earlier poetic treatment of this theme.

The literary background of Pindar's theme at once provides an impetus for telling the story and justifies its curtailment. This remarkably brief narrative,⁹⁵ dependent upon his audiences' knowledge of a longer work, is framed by two prominent references to its fame (πέταται δ' ἐπὶ τε χθόνα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσας τηλόθεν | ὄνυμ' αὐτῶν, 48–9; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν παλαιότεροι | ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτόν εὔρον, 53–4). The verb πέταται (48) presents the dissemination of Achilles' fame as an ongoing reality in contrast with the antiquity of the events recounted (ἐπαλτο, 50, aorist) and also in contrast with the time-tested media in which these events are remembered (παλαιότεροι, 53). Both sentences of the narrative proper focus on the perspective of the Aethiopians (ἐς Αἰθίοπας, 49; φιν, 50). A paradigmatically distant race,⁹⁶ they evince the reach of glory through space. The immediate effects of Achilles' victory are elided with its subsequent afterlife.

Here, as often elsewhere (IV.4), the actual reception of epic provides an idealized model for the future reception of Pindar's epinician. The *Aethiopis*, if not Callias' victory revel, concretely illustrates how poetry can preserve accomplishment and prefigures the potential

⁹⁴ See Spelman (2018b); cf. Gerber (1999) 78, Henry (2005) 64, West (2013) 147, Rengakos (2015) 307.

⁹⁵ Gerber (1999) 75: 'the myth here takes up a much smaller proportion of the ode than in any other ode with central myth.'

⁹⁶ *Od.* 1.22–7, MacLachlan (1992).

afterlife of Pindar's ode. Journeying is an important conceit throughout *Nemean* 6.⁹⁷ Pindar's 'glorifying breeze' (28b–9) will propel the Bassidae and their ship of song into the world so that their fame will spread and then endure—and so thereby come to approximate the fame already realized by their mythical analogues, the Aeacidae. This sort of perpetuation is an essential task of literary epinician: the Bassidae require a glorifying wind of verse in order to achieve posthumous remembrance (29–30).

Alcimidas, whose victory is celebrated in *Nemean* 6, presumably also enjoyed at Nemea the same sort of traditional celebration that his ancestor Callias enjoyed at Delphi long before. After his victory, however, the Bassidae also commissioned a professional poet to provide something related to but different from the comastic revel at the site of the games. Pindar's ode fulfilling their request renews the family's long-standing tradition of epinician celebration but aims to approximate the widespread and enduring glory of epic. For his fifth-century secondary audiences, Callias' Pythian victory, even if preserved through a preserved epinician poem, was surely not, like Achilles' duel with Memnon, a well-known theme associated with a canonical poem by a well-known author. Pindar's literary epinician aspires to a distinguished afterlife like that already achieved by the *Aethiopis*. To understand this ode fully we need to understand how it negotiates a relationship to a multi-layered literary and social context that includes both traditional victory revels and canonical epic poetry.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Numerous references to a contemporary poetic culture surrounding Pindar's odes can be confirmed to be essentially trustworthy through the evidence of Pindar's odes themselves. The Emmenidae really were familiar with epinician (*I.* 2.30–2); Pindar really was widely recognized for his skill (*O.* 1.115b–16). Passages like these lend a measure of credibility to similar plausible references which cannot be similarly verified. The literary environment depicted in these poems is largely

⁹⁷ N. 6.7, 11, 15, 23–4, 29–30, 32, 45–6, 48–50, 53–7, Calame (2012) 317–18.

realistic. The epinicians do not take place entirely in a dream world; they create their own imaginative *kosmos* but also participate in real practices. As references to performance contexts are parasitic on reality but can also include an element of fictionalization (I.1), so references to a surrounding literary context are not transparent windows onto reality but interact with reality in complex ways. References to a literary context, like references to performance context, shape how all audiences experience these poems and must be interpreted first and foremost as rhetorical gestures in their immediate context within an individual poem.

Taken together, the passages discussed in this chapter provide a picture which is internally consistent across the corpus. This overarching context behind each composition may be presented through a generalized narrative.

The victor is celebrated at the games with the traditional revel, the *κῶμος*, from which literary epinician was perceived to have evolved. Probably this event did not produce a lasting verbal artefact. Not content with such ephemeral celebration, a patron, who has experienced many other literary odes, elects to commission Pindar of Thebes from a pool of other praise poets because of his outstanding reputation. An epinician is then performed within the victor's community as an expression of its civic choral culture. After its first performance, the ode travels outward to meet secondary audiences already familiar with the genre and with Pindar's work.

Individual passages afford glimpses into this prehistory and after-life surrounding every ode, a background probably taken for granted by many among Pindar's contemporaries, who experienced epinician poetry as a living practice, not a modest set of texts. By assembling these clues one can see further into a cultural context which shapes the meaning of many passages and the significance of Pindar's authorial project as a whole.

VIII

The Lyric Past

The last two chapters explored epinician poetry as an institutional practice in the past and present. This chapter expands the scope of inquiry and studies Pindar's engagement with older non-epinician lyric most generally. Section 1 discusses the mainly fragmentary evidence for his knowledge and use of the history of lyric. Section 2 interprets three epinicians which prominently engage with the work of other lyric poets. Drawing on the arguments of the last three chapters and offering a conclusion to them, Section 3 describes Pindar's vision of the poetic world, both past and present, and clarifies how a sense of literary history shapes the meaning of his authorial project.

1. LYRIC HISTORY

For Pindar genres generally emerge from the distant past.¹ More recent history encompasses inventions attributable to individual human actors. 'We get the impression that Pindar has the concept of an evolutionary history in which a succession of innovators in different parts of Greece created and modified the various poetic and musical forms' (M. L. West (2011–13) ii.139; cf. Timotheus 791.221–36 *PMG*). Bacchylides may well have had similar historical conceptions, but we find far less trace of them in his extant work.

¹ References to the origins of genres in Pindar: fr. 31, 71, 85, 115, 128c with Cannatà Fera (1990) 139–40; cf. *Hymn. Hom.* 2.200–5, 4.54–61. Poets in the distant past: *P.* 4.176–7 (Orpheus, probably depicted as the first poet: Braswell (1988) 257), fr. 128c.12 (Orpheus), 157 (Olympus).

Fragmentary pieces of evidence combine to show that Pindar was acutely aware of a lyric past including many individuals like himself. He uses these figures to situate his poems and their audiences within continuous traditions. If D'Angour (1997) is correct, *Dithyramb* 2 alludes to Lasus' 'invention' of the circular chorus and carries this form into the present. Pindar would presume in his audiences a robust knowledge of performance history. The Lesbian Arion's contribution to the development of the dithyramb in Corinth, whatever it might have been thought to be, is alluded to elliptically as a well-known fact: *ταὶ Διωνύσου πόθεν ἐξέφανε | ἐν βοηλάται χάριτες διθυράμβωι;* 'whence did the delights of Dionysus appear with the ox-driving dithyramb?' (O. 13.18–19).² Fr. 140b, discussed below, credits the Epizephyrean Locrian Xenocritus with the invention of the Locrian harmony. Perhaps Pindar mentioned Sacadas of Argos (fr. 269), credited in antiquity with the invention of the Pythian *nomos* (Paus. 2.22.8), for similar reasons.³ Fr. 125 describes Terpander's invention of the *barbitos*: *τόν ῥα Τέρπανδρός ποθ' ὁ Λέσβιος εἶρεν | πρῶτος, ἐν δείπνοισι Λυδῶν | ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογγον ὑψηλὰς ἀκούων πακτίδος*, '[the *barbitos*] which once Terpander of Lesbos first invented, hearing in the banquets of the Lydians the plucking answering the voice of the high-pitched *pektis*'. These lines from one of the poems classified among Pindar's encomia in the Hellenistic edition probably debuted at a convivial occasion similar to the one described and were probably accompanied by the instrument which the Lesbian poet once discovered.⁴ As with the first Olympic epinician in *Olympian* 10, a distant primordial occasion is re-enacted in the present. The same poem, which Pindar's contemporaries probably regarded as a *scolion*, may have attributed to Terpander the discovery of this genre.⁵

² Cf. Hdt. 1.23, van der Weiden (1991) 2–3, Zimmermann (1992) 24–7, Fearn (2007) 168–70, D'Alessio (2013) 114–15. Simonides may have put Arion in Corinth (609 with Poltera (2008) 572).

³ Divine inventions of *nomoi*: P. 12.19–27, [Plut.] *de mus.* 1136c.

⁴ Cf. *βαρβι[τί]ξαι* (Pind. fr. 124d), B. fr. 20b.1, 20c.2, Power (2010) 410–11, Budelmann (2012) 182. For the festive setting of encomia see fr. 124a–c, B. fr. 20b.

⁵ For *scolion* as a generic designation see Pind. fr. 122.14 with Cingano (2003) 42–4. For Terpander's invention see [Plut.] *de mus.* 1140f–g, van Groningen (1960) 118, Gostoli (1990) xxxviii, 89–90, Liberman (2016) 48–9. On the motif generally see Kleingünther (1933).

Fr. 140b, whose generic identity is uncertain,⁶ represents Pindar's most extensive surviving description of a lyric invention and its legacy. The piece 'expresses [his] awareness of the musico-poetic tradition and the value of one particular predecessor's work, but also of his own originality within that tradition' (W. J. Henderson (1992) 158). It opens by citing the past (text after Rutherford (2001a) 382–3):

Ἰων[
 αἰοῖδ[ἀν κ]αὶ ἁρμονίαν
 αὐλ[οῖς ἐ]πεφράσ[ατο
 τῷ[ν γε Λο]κρῶν τις, οἷ τ' ἀργίλοφον
 παρ Ζεφυρίου κολώναν
 ν[... ὑπε]ρ Αὐσονία[ς ἀλός
 λ[... ..]εν ἀνθ.[
 οἶον [ὄ]χημα λιγ[υ
 κες Λο]κρ[ὸν παιή]οι[
 Ἀπόλλωνί τε καὶ [
 ἄρμενον. ἐγὼ μ[
 παῦρα μελ[ι]ζομεν[
 [γλώ]σσαργον ἀμφέπω[ν ἐρε-
 θίζομαι πρὸς αὐ[
 ἀλίου δελφίνος ὑπόκρισιν,
 τὸν μὲν ἀκύμονος ἐν πόντου πελάγει
 αὐλῶν ἐκίνησ' ἐρατὸν μέλος.

... one of the Locrians, who ... by the white-topped hill of Zephyrion over the Ausonian sea, invented song and harmony for *auloi* ... like a wagon ... Locrian ... for Apollo and ... fitting ... I ... few ... singing ... cherishing the swift-tongued ... I am incited ... in imitation of a dolphin of the sea, which the lovely melody of *auloi* has excited in the expanse of the waveless open sea.

Only periphrastically denominating his predecessor by mentioning his homeland and his achievement, Pindar is not being 'coy' (M. L. West (2011–13) ii.140) but thematizing his audiences' knowledge of a figure so well known that he need not be named.⁷ Once in

⁶ Apolline associations and the contents of the rest of the papyrus roll suggest a paean or a *prosodion*: cf. παιήοι(fr. 140b.9), D'Alessio (1997) 45. Emphasis on vigorous mimetic dancing suggests a *hyporchema* (cf. fr. 107a–b). There is nothing comparable with these lines in the more extensive remains of Pindar's paeans. The form of the papyrus title also militates against a paean (Rutherford (2001a) 386).

⁷ Cf. Callim. fr. 669, an allusion to our passage. Fileni (1987) discusses what little is known of Xenocritus.

the past Xenocritus, a seventh-century choral lyricist, devised the melody which a contemporary audience now hears (2–3). As with Terpander in fr. 125, there is an implicit contrast between a single event and its lasting consequences as well as a parallel contrast between the distant site of invention and its legacy audible in the here and now ($\alpha\upsilon\lambda[οῖς, 3 \rightarrow \alpha\upsilon\lambda\omega\upsilon\nu, 17]$).⁸

Perhaps Xenocritus' invention of the Locrian *nomos* was presented as a response to the tradition in its own right. $\Upsilon\omega\nu[(1)$ might be a reference to the older Ionian *nomos* in contradistinction to the Locrian. If Schroeder is along the right lines in supplementing $\Upsilon\omega\nu[\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma \alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu \textit{Μοῖσας}$, 'a rival of the Ionian Muse' (fr. 140b.1),⁹ then Pindar projects his own engagement with the past onto his predecessor: Xenocritus, too, reacted to inherited musical forms. In any event, tradition and invention are fused in the present. Fronted $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ (11) implies a contrast. In what follows focus shifts from past to present as the speaker reacts to the sound of Xenocrates' music in a novel way. $\gamma\lambda\omega\varsigma\sigma\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron\nu$, 'swift-tongued' (13), calls attention to the verbal element of the present performance.¹⁰ The tune is inherited, perhaps, but these words are original.

For Pindar, the past includes many human inventors who pass on technological and formal innovations to their heirs. But for his fifth-century contemporaries previous lyricists were not famous for their musical inventions alone. Some poets' words remained in circulation. Fr. 188 apparently appeals to a well-known saying of Polymnestus, a seventh-century poet from Colophon, which is unknown to us: $\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\mu\alpha \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\nu \epsilon\gamma\gamma\omega\kappa\alpha\varsigma \textit{Πολυμνάστου Κολοφωνίου ἀνδρός}$, 'you recognize the well-known utterance of Polymnestus, the man from Colophon.'¹¹ Polymnestus hails from Colophon, but his words have become the common property of the Greek world.

Pindar is the most frequently suspected candidate for the author of some fascinating words preserved in P. Oxy. 2389 fr. 9 col.

⁸ K. A. Morgan (2012) 41. The diction of fr. 140b.4–6 suggests a distant locale.

⁹ Cf. Telestes 806.2–3 PMG: $\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\omicron\varsigma\epsilon \pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma \mid \Delta\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma \alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu \mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$. Elsewhere in Pindar we find only the form $\Upsilon\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ (Pae. 2.3; but note B. 17.3, 18.2).

¹⁰ Cf. Fileni (1987) 48–9, Rutherford (2001a) 385.

¹¹ It is possible that this fragment refers exclusively to music rather than words, but both $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\omega\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ and $\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\mu\alpha$ with the personal genitive comport less well with this reading. Cf. Cratinus 338 PCG.

i (= Alcman TA1a = 13a) and regrettably omitted even from the *dubia* in Snell and Maehler's standard edition:¹²

5

] [. . .]νος ἐχέγγυος

] βεβαιωτῆς ἂν γένοι-

το ὅτι] Λάκων εἶη ὅτε φη-

σί·] ἀντίφαριν Λάκωνι τέ-

κτον(-) πα]ρθενίων σοφῶν Ἄλκμᾶ-

10

νι ω]ν τε μελέων ποτίφορον

].ον· ἄλλ' ἔοικε Λυδὸν αὐ-

τὸν νομί]ζειν ὃ τε Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ

κύ]μψηφοι ἀπατηθέντες . . .

. . . trustworthy . . . would be an authority that he [sc. Alcman] was a Laconian when he says: 'a fitting rival for Laconian Alcman, builder of skilful *parthenia* . . . and of songs . . .'. But it seems that Aristotle and . . . those who share his opinion are deceived in considering him [sc. Alcman] a Lydian . . .

A robust case can be made for the Pindaric authorship of the quotation printed in bold. Davison (1968) 174–5 attributes these words to Alcman, but the author of the papyrus counterbalances authorities, and Alcman himself could not be put on a par with Aristotle. Pindar, whom the author of this text invokes elsewhere (fr. 6 col. ii.13–15), could well be considered a trustworthy and authoritative early witness for Alcman's homeland (cf. Pind. fr. 264, B. fr. 48). The diction, metre, and dialect of the poetic fragment are compatible with a fifth-century date. Direct competition with a named lyric poet suggests a lyric source. Overt, historicizing, and competitive reference to the lyric past points towards Pindar in particular. The metaphor of poet as *τέκτων* is only attested in Pindar within fifth-century lyric.¹³ The form *ποτίφορον* (10) is attested only in him (N. 3.31, 7.63); he uses the form *πρόσφορος*, not attested elsewhere in fifth-century lyric, five times. If the quotation is not from Pindar, then it may be from someone trying to sound like Pindar.

It is not hard to imagine a context in which Pindar could have pitted himself against Alcman. Mention of *partheneia* in our fragment

¹² Cf. Lobel (1957c) 41, Führer (1971) 233, Carey (2011) 445–6, M. L. West (2011–13) ii.137, Coward (2016) 42–9. One cannot rule out Bacchylides or Simonides, who also composed *partheneia* ([Plut.] *de mus.* 1136f). If πα]ρθενίων could be used as a generic designation in the fifth century, Pind. *Parth.* 2.34 (παρθενῆϊα . . . φρονεῖν) is a sophisticated pun.

¹³ P. 3.112–13; cf. N. 3.3–5, Ford (2002) 113–30.

encourages the hypothesis that these words come from a *parthe-neion*. Alcman composed at least two books of *partheneia*, considered his characteristic genre in antiquity. The best-preserved specimen of Pindar's *partheneia* (fr. 94b) has been plausibly thought to manifest the influence of Alcman. Pindar also composed a *hyporchema* for a Spartan maiden chorus.¹⁴

Available evidence affords reason to hypothesize that our anonymous verses are the work of Pindar. The poet of these words, whoever he might be, apparently presents himself as the rival of a long-deceased predecessor whose work has lived on and come to represent a unique level of achievement in a particular genre. τέ[κτον(-), if correct and a dative rather than an accusative, as seems marginally more attractive, depicts Alcman as an architect of durable lyric structures. σοφῶν acknowledges his achievement and, by implication, that of the speaker, who sets himself alongside a canonical rival.¹⁵ This fragment stages a competition between poets of different eras and from different communities within the arena of a widely shared literary culture preserving a continuous memory of the past. Three of Pindar's epinicians also enter into this same arena to meet other lyric predecessors.

2. GENERIC ENRICHMENT

In several odes Pindar makes discernible allusion to the work of older poets who composed a different sort of lyric. It seems that some of the non-hexameter poets later cited and alluded to by Herodotus and Aristophanes, our next two major witnesses to the formation of a sort of pre-Alexandrian lyric canon, had already achieved privileged status in Pindar's day.

Pindar uses this older poetry to tell stories about how his own poems fit into traditions and also stand apart from the past. The three odes discussed here each include characteristic elements of the genre

¹⁴ Λάκαινα μὲν παρθένων ἀγέλα (Pind. fr. 112). Bacchylides apparently also composed for female Spartan choruses: B. 20, fr. dub. 61, D'Alessio (2013) 123–8.

¹⁵ Cf. εἰ δὲ χρῆ καὶ πὰρ σοφὸν ἀντιφερίξαι (Pind. P. 9.50); Hes. Op. 210. For competition between works of different eras cf. Hymn. Hom. 3.173, Ar. Ran. 1106–7, Astydamos 1 FGE.

to which they allude and thereby expand the scope of the victory ode¹⁶ while simultaneously positioning epinician within a wider comparative framework. Pindar defines his authorial project through contrasts and comparisons with some of the most distinguished lyric voices of the past.

A. *Pythian* 2

As Pindar moves from blaming Ixion to praising Hieron, the blame poet Archilochus is cited in order to bring out by contrast what is distinctive and superior about praise poetry (51–6):

... καὶ ὑψιφρόνων τιν' ἔκαμψε βροτῶν,
 ἑτέροισι δὲ κῦδος ἀγήραον παρέδωκ'. ἐμὲ δὲ χρεῶν
 φεύγειν δάκος ἀδινὸν κακαγοριᾶν
 εἶδον γὰρ ἑκάς ἐὼν τὰ πόλλ' ἐν ἀμαχανίαι
 ψογερόν Ἀρχιλόχον βαρυλόγοις ἔχθεσιν
 παινόμενον· τὸ πλουτεῖν δὲ σὺν τύχαι
 πότμου σοφίας ἄριστον.

... [the god] humbles many an arrogant mortal but to others he gives ageless glory. But I must flee from the persistent bite of reproach, for from a distance I have seen Archilochus the blamer often in want of resources fattening himself on heavy-worded hatreds. To gain wealth that is granted by destiny is the pinnacle of wisdom.

Mention of fame (κῦδος ἀγήραον, 52) reminds the poet of his encomiastic obligation (ἐμὲ δὲ χρεῶν, 52) and the goal of his genre, the glory of its subject.

Archilochus, who had been dead for perhaps a century and a half by the time of *Pythian* 2, is presented as a living presence in the world.¹⁷ He survives in his work, which preserves his portrait for later generations. Archilochus himself enjoys a sort of 'ageless fame' (52), albeit one that bleeds into infamy (cf. Critias 44 D–K). τὰ πόλλ' (54) bespeaks a broad view over a substantial body of work (cf. *N.* 2.1–3)

¹⁶ Compare Harrison (2007), from which this section borrows its title.

¹⁷ See Miller (1981), Most (1985a) 88–92, Held (2003), Brown (2006), Uhlig (2016) 106–10. Canonical authors are often presented as living presences in the world. Solon 20 instructs Minnervus, who was probably deceased, to remake a poem. Heraclitus B 42 D–K identifies Homer and Archilochus with those who perform their poems. J. Henderson (1987) 92 on *Ar. Lys.* 188–9 discusses the related tendency to identify dramatic authors with those who perform their work.

and an even-handed critical judgement. Archilochus' poetry—and so also by implication Pindar's—is conceived as the reflection of a coherent personality. In our passage, as Lowrie (1997) 167 n. 45 writes of Horace, 'ethics and poetics contaminate each other.' The blame poet feeds insatiably alone and disfigures himself through selfishness; Pindar in *Pythian* 2 espouses an aristocratic sociability: ἀδόντα δ' εἴη με τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὀμιλεῖν, 'may I please noble men and mingle with them' (96; cf. *O.* 1.115b–16). Archilochus' work is characterized by a self-indulgent immoderation (παινόμενον, 56)¹⁸ that contrasts with Pindar's rhetorical and ethical stance (cf. μέτρον, 34). The images of blame 'biting' its victim (δάκος, 53) and Archilochus 'fattening' (56) himself with words of hatred may leave behind an uncomfortable whiff of cannibalism over the whole scene.

Whereas Archilochus is often impoverished (ἐν ἀμαχανίαι, 54),¹⁹ Pindar enjoys wealth as a skilled professional praise poet: τὸ πλουτεῖν δὲ ἐν τύχαι πότμου σοφίας ἄριστον, 'to gain wealth that is granted by destiny is the pinnacle of wisdom' (56).²⁰ The success of Pindar's career is embodied in this very poem, composed for the wealthiest individual in the history of the Greek world (58–61); Hieron could and often did pay for the best poetry that money could buy. Indeed, *Pythian* 2 proudly advertises its commercial status: τόδε μὲν κατὰ Φοίνικσαν ἐμπολάν | μέλος ὑπὲρ πολιᾶς ἄλδος πέμπεται, 'this song is being sent in the manner of Phoenician merchandise over the grey

¹⁸ Cf. *Ibyc.* 311a, *Pind.* *O.* 2.96, *B.* 3.68. δάκος ἀδινόν (*P.* 2.53) will mean 'persistent bite': Miller (1981) 138 n. 13, Brown (2006) 45 n. 56.

¹⁹ Cf. ἀκέρδεια λέλογχεν θαμινὰ κακαγόρους (*O.* 1.53). Miller (1981) makes the strongest arguments for the idea that ἀμαχανία (*P.* 2.54) describes not indigence but poverty of ingenuity. This does not convince. It is not clear *why* blame should entail bad poetry. Archilochus is not a bad poet, as evinced by the survival and popularity of his work (contrast Most (1985a) 90: 'Archilochus is a failed poet'). Archilochus, like Hipponax (32, 34, 36), evidently presented himself as impoverished: διὰ πειρίαν καὶ ἀπορίαν (*Critias* 44 D–K = *Archil.* 295). Pindar's next sentence also provides obstacles to Miller's reading; see the next note.

²⁰ Gerber (1960) convincingly rules out several interpretations of this sentence and endorses the best grammatical solution in substantial agreement with Lloyd-Jones (1973) 121–2, Carey (1981) 43–5, Race (1997) i.237, and Henry (2000); contrast e.g. Gentili et al. (1995) 387–8, Morgan (2015) 189–90. Word order makes it difficult to construe the infinitive with σοφίας (56). 'To be wealthy in wisdom' would be an unusual idea (but see M. L. West (1978) 273). ἐν τύχαι πότμου (*P.* 2.56) creates a contrast with those who struggle against fate (88, 90–6). τὸ πλουτεῖν (56) contrasts with ἀμαχανία (54) and helps to determine its precise sense. ἐλευθέραι (57) and φρενί (57), of Hieron's material generosity, look back to τὸ πλουτεῖν (56) and σοφίας (56), respectively. For the thought as a whole cf. *P.* 5.1–4.

sea' (67–8). Archilochus' invective is dedicated to his personal enmity toward those near to him; in this ode and in his overarching career Pindar participates in a network of exceptional poets and patrons which spans the Greek world. Archilochus' work has become canonical, but his authorial project, as it is presented in *Pythian* 2, is primarily motivated by his own hatred rather than any desire to create lasting literary artefacts; Pindar's ode is motivated by friendship (17, 83, 96), professional self-interest (52–6), and a desire to bestow 'ageless glory' on Hieron which is wrapped up with both. Whereas in *Isthmian* 2 the advent of professional praise poetry is presented in moralizing terms of decline (1–12), in *Pythian* 2 Pindar's modern and aristocratic professional persona emerges as a distinctly preferable alternative to the destructive and self-destructive hatreds of his distant predecessor.

Yet in our passage a simple dichotomy between praise and blame collapses, since by blaming the paradigmatic poet of blame the poet of praise briefly and to a limited degree becomes his own antithesis. *ἐκὰς ἐών* (54) connotes unfriendliness.²¹ *παινόμενον* (56), prepared for by *βαρυλόγοις* (55), belongs to an earthy register near the bottom of epinician propriety. This ad hominem attack contrasts with Pindar's numerous polemics against anonymous, notional rival eulogists and evokes the separate generic code of iambic personal invective. Archilochus becomes 'a victim of his own genre' (Brown (2006) 37) as *Pythian* 2 briefly becomes invective to show what is distinctively epinician and also to show how the victory ode can include invective in its place within a different and more expansive world view. Blame is implicated in praise as its antithesis and finds a limited role in the victory ode. The rest of *Pythian* 2 continues to mingle in blame of the blameworthy in order to define and praise what is praiseworthy.

Pindar names Archilochus multiple times, a distinction accorded only to him and Homer among poets. Archilochus was probably, as his strikingly well-attested early reception suggests, the most prominent non-hexameter poet in the late archaic literary landscape.²² Pindar's allusions to Archilochus should be understood as competitive

²¹ Cf. O. 1.52, Thgn. 970, Eur. *Hipp.* 102, Miller (1981) 141; contrast *τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὀμλεῖν* (P. 2.96). M. L. West (2011–13) ii.137, Gentili et al. (1995) 385–6, and others plausibly understand temporal distance (cf. O. 10.7). But this seems less consonant with *εἶδον* (P. 2.54).

²² West (2011–13) ii.136: 'of the non-hexameter poets of the Archaic age, the one who first emerges as a classic is Archilochus;' cf. Brown (1997) 13.

engagement with a figure who had a very different authorial persona but who had already achieved a canonical status very much like that to which Pindar himself aspired.

B. *Pythian* 1

In 1992 the publication of P. Oxy. 2327 and 3965 returned to the world substantial parts of Simonides' 'Plataea Elegy'. These finds, invaluable in their own right, might also allow us to appreciate better a passage in Pindar.

Pythian 1 describes how Hieron defeated the Etruscans at Cumae, thereby 'pulling Hellas out from under burdensome slavery' (*Ἑλλάδ' ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλίας*, 75). The idea of saving the Greek world from slavery evokes a common trope of thinking about the Persian wars.²³ Related ideas might well have featured in Simonides' works on that subject. Indeed, M. L. West prints *δούλιον ἡμ|αρ*, 'day of slavery', in Simonides' 'Plataea Elegy' (11.25 W).²⁴ In Pindar's *Pythian* 1, a slogan about saving Greece from slavery springs a priamel canvassing some of the most significant battles in recent memory, including two from the Persian wars (75–82):

ἀρέομαι
 πὰρ μὲν Σαλαμῖνος Ἀθηναίων χάριν
 μισθόν, ἐν Σπάρτῃ δ' ἔρέω πρὸ Κιθαιρώνος μάχαν,
 ταῖσι Μῆδαιο κάμον ἀγκυλότοξοι,
 παρὰ δὲ τὰν εὐνδρον ἄκτὰν
 Ἰμέρα παίδεσσαν ὕμνον Δεινομένεος τελέσαις,
 τὸν ἐδέξαντ' ἀμφ' ἀρετᾷ, πολέμιων ἀνδρῶν καμόντων.
 καιρὸν εἰ φθέγγαιο, πολλῶν πείρατα συντανύσαις
 ἐν βραχεῖ, μείων ἔπεται μῶμος ἀνθρώ-
 πων.

I will earn from Salamis the Athenians' gratitude as my wage, and in Sparta I will tell of the battle before Cithaeron, in which conflicts the Medes with

²³ Cf. Raaflaub (2004) ch. 3.1, Petrovic (2007) 169, Morgan (2015) 150–7, 338–40. Without suggesting an allusion to the 'Plataea Elegy', Morgan (2015) ch. 4 and 8 situates *Pythian* 1 within a contemporary 'politics of memorialisation' (132) that includes Simonides and persuasively interprets Pindar's ode as 'a direct reaction to the climate of aretology after the wars' (330).

²⁴ The list of plausible words at line-end is not long. *ἀμυν*[(26)] makes West's text plausible; cf. *ἀμύνειν δούλιον ἡμαρ* (Il. 6.463).

their curved bows gave out; by the well-watered bank of the Himeras I will pay to Deinomenes' sons my poem, which they received thanks to their excellence, since their enemies gave out. If you should utter the due measure, having brought together the strands of many things in brief, less blame follows from men.

Simonides evidently composed poems on the first two hypothetical topics envisioned here: one on the battle of Salamis, known to us through later attestations,²⁵ and another on the battle of Plataea, now known to us through P. Oxy. 2327 and 3965.²⁶ Pindar may well refer to these works by an older contemporary lyric poet to whom he elsewhere refers with comparable indirectness.²⁷ Our passage countenances not just mentioning the battle of Himera in passing but delivering a song (*ῥῆμον*, 79) expressly in order to celebrate a recent military victory (*τὸν ἐδέξαντ' ἀμφ' ἀρεταῖ, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν καμόντων*, 80). Although one can find partial analogies for Simonides' poems on the battles of the Persian wars, monumental commissioned poems dedicated to contemporary battles do not seem to have constituted a traditional genre.²⁸ Pindar here seems to be talking about a type of poem which we do not hear about before Simonides.

It would not be surprising if Simonides' poems about Plataea and Salamis garnered widespread repute soon after their first performance. Both were composed by a leading poet. Both celebrated events viewed as supremely significant to all Greeks. These Simonidean works will have been of interest to many but of special interest to

²⁵ Plut. *Them.* 15.4, Vit. Pind. Ambros. p. 2 Drachmann, *Suda* C 439. For possible fragments see Rutherford (2001b) 37–8. M. L. West (2011–13) ii.112–13 discusses the confused and confusing passage in the *Suda*; cf. Kowerski (2005) 9–16 with bibliography.

²⁶ Kowerski (2005) ch. 1 questions the idea of a poem dedicated to the battle of Plataea and raises the possibility of a single poem on the Persian wars. Lulli (2011) 56–7 convincingly restates the *communis opinio*. Lines 25–35 of the 'Plataea Elegy' look like they are identifying and exalting the central subject of this poem, not just picking up a narrative at an arbitrary point (compare and contrast Kowerski (2005) 45, 66). I suppose that this poem privileged Sparta but did not ignore the contributions of other communities (cf. Simon. 15–16 W).

²⁷ O. 9.48–9, *Pae.* 4.21–4, and perhaps *I.* 2.30–2, all discussed elsewhere in this monograph.

²⁸ Cf. Rutherford (2001b) 41–2, Bowie (2001) 56, Grethlein (2010) 52. The closest attested parallel for Simonides' 'Plataea Elegy' seems to be Mimnermus' *Smyrneis*, but the similarities are limited. Poems like Archil. 94 look rather less similar. The evidence for narrative elegy performed at public occasions collected by E. L. Bowie (1986) 27–34 suggests a wide range of possible topics; but see especially Sider (2006).

the patron of Pindar's *Pythian* 1. Extant choral lyric shows that Hieron was much interested in asserting his own place in the Panhellenic arena of glory to which Simonides' 'Plataea Elegy' explicitly addresses itself (11.15–25 W). Indeed, Hieron, who commissioned multiple poems from both Pindar and Bacchylides, also commissioned poems from Simonides.²⁹ The monarch's restaging of Aeschylus' *Persians* in Sicily speaks to his desire to align himself with the celebratory poetic culture surrounding the Persian wars.³⁰

Evoking another genre, Pindar expands the scope of his epinician to include martial as well as athletic victory (cf. *I.* 5.38–54). This passage in a sense delivers the poem for the battle of Himera which it talks about,³¹ but the break-off in lines 81–4 may be motivated in part by the prospect of actually composing a different sort of poem, a monumental work like Simonides' for the battle of Plataea. Recognizing the inclusion of elements from another sort of song adds another layer of nuance to Pindar's description of his synthetic compositional technique: πολλῶν πείρατα συντανύσαις | ἐν βραχεῖ, 'bringing together the strands of many things in brief' (81–2). In our passage the poet is weaving together in a short span not just different themes of praise but different types of praise poems.

More fine-grained potential connections reinforce the case for an allusion. Simonides implicitly likens those who fought at Plataea to those who fought at Troy and selects for special attention Achilles (11.19–20 W), who perished in war; Pindar likens Hieron to Philoctetes, who was responsible for the sack of Troy and survived (*P.* 1.50–5). Simonides, commemorating the Spartans as a group, makes the fall of Troy a corporate endeavour (τοὶ δὲ πόλιν πέρσαντες, 13); Pindar, commissioned by a monarch, makes it the accomplishment of one individual favoured by fate (ὃς Πριάμοιο πόλιν πέρσεν, τελευτάσεν τε πόνους Δαναοῖς, 54; μοιρίδιον ἦν, 55).

Pythian 1 probably reacts to two poems which must have been among the most prominent events in recent literary history. It asserts

²⁹ Presumably real Simonidean poems for Hieron stand behind later testimonia and fictions (cf. Simon. 552, 580, Morgan (2015) 93). Podlecki (1979) is more sceptical.

³⁰ Taplin (2006). At Delphi Hieron's memorial for Himera was situated near the memorials for Plataea and Salamis (Nicholson (2016a) 182).

³¹ Compare the song within a song for Hieron's son Deinomenes, installed as the monarch of the newly founded Aetna: ἄγ' ἔπειτ' Αἴτνας βασιλεῖ φίλιον ἐξέυρωμεν ὕμνον (60). For foundational poetry see Dougherty (1993) 84, (1994b).

Pindar and his patrons' matching places on the highest level of the economy of prestige. The defeat of the Carthaginians in the west is put on a par with the defeat of the Persians in the east. The individual Sicilian Deinomenidae are put on a par with the most powerful communities of the mainland (Pfeijffer (2005) 30). Pindar, too, is presented as the equal of Simonides, the older poet selected for such grand commissions. *Pythian* 1 conveys the impression that the Theban poet, a widely recognized figure with a career that spans the Greek world, takes his current theme from among the most illustrious possible topics, others of which he might treat in other places at other times. This impression is not without a basis in historical reality.³²

Simonides' professionalism is probably relevant to our passage, if only indirectly. The biographical tradition about his mercenary character, which is in evidence from early on, may derive in part from a skewed interpretation of his poetry, which, like Pindar's poetry, may have discussed its own commercial nature.³³ Evoking the work of a fellow professional, Pindar downplays professional motivations. *χάριν | μισθόν* (76–7), 'wage . . . gratitude', is a striking collocation of the contractual and the ethical (cf. *O.* 10.7–12). The final term of the priamel moves further away the vocabulary of contract: so far from receiving remuneration, Pindar will 'pay' (*τελέαις*, 79, with Slater s.v.) the Deinomenidae a song to discharge a debt of thanks for their service to the Greek world as a whole. A swipe at Simonides' venality seems altogether unlikely. Rather, a rhetorical reversal of the realities of commercial commemoration enhances the prestige of the subject: a professional like Simonides or Pindar might be contracted to praise the worthy, but the Deinomenidae's accomplishment is so extraordinarily important that a professional pays them a tribute.

If these arguments point in the right direction, *Pythian* 1 provides insight into the literary landscape in which Pindar operated. An allusion to Simonides' 'Plataea Elegy' in *Pythian* 1, first performed on Sicily around 470, about a decade after the battle of Plataea,³⁴ shows that Simonides' hopes for a widespread reception to match that

³² Pind. fr. 76 and 77 attest to a dithyramb celebrating Athens' role in the Persian wars but not necessarily dedicated to that subject.

³³ Cf. Xenophanes 21 W, *Ar. Pax* 697–9, Kivilo (2010) 207, Lefkowitz (2012) 55, 57, and, more generally, Bell (1978). Cf. the references to Pindar in *Ar. Av.* 924–52.

³⁴ The date of Simonides' work is uncertain, but I would suppose that 'the Plataea elegy must be dated within a few years of the battle' (Boedeker (1995) 225; cf. Simon. 11.33 W, Thuc. 1.133–4, Jung (2006) 226 n. 3).

of Homeric epic (11.15–24 W) were neither entirely unrealistic nor merely a conventional flight of poetic fancy. Putting his own epinician alongside Simonides' works, Pindar advances a claim to a similar recognition among his contemporaries and among later generations.³⁵ The final lines of his poem look forward more explicitly to this possibility (93–100).

Pythian 1 is not the only time that Pindar alludes to Simonides. Having left behind the dubious tales of acrimony and veiled jibes found in the ancient scholia, scholars now need to formulate a new and more nuanced understanding of Pindar's relation to his lyric contemporaries. The terms in which he depicts the success of his career resonate to a striking degree with the career of Simonides: Pindar is compensated for his work, judged supreme in skill by patrons throughout the Greek world, and commissioned by Hieron, the leading patron of his day.³⁶ One might venture to say that, for Pindar, being a major author in the future means someday being remembered as Homer is now remembered (*I.* 4.37–45), while being a major author in the present means building a curriculum vitae like that of Simonides.

C. *Isthmian* 2

Isthmian 2 is perhaps Pindar's single most intricate and challenging meditation on the literary tradition and his own place within it. The ode is permeated by the past. The opening comparison contrasts older erotic poetry with commercialized contemporary praise poetry. Pindar recalls his own previous odes for the Emmenidae. Xenocrates, the primary recipient of praise, has evidently perished;³⁷ his son Thrasybulus is addressed. The older poet Simonides had perhaps already praised Xenocrates' victories.³⁸ On many levels *Isthmian* 2 is a poem about coming after.

³⁵ Contrast Athanassaki (2009) 253, who writes that *P.* 1.75–80 'serves as a reminder that the appeal of song is conditional, subject to local bounds'.

³⁶ Professional: *Pind. P.* 11.41–2; cf. *Simon. T.* 74–7 Poltera; widespread commissions: *Pind. O.* 1.116; cf. *Simon. T.* 52–62 Poltera; commissioned by Hieron: *Pind. O.* 1.104; cf. *Simon. T.* 55–61 Poltera.

³⁷ Xenocrates' death is never mentioned but is commonly inferred. He is described in the past tense and never addressed.

³⁸ Podlecki (1979) 7, followed by Poltera (2008) 586–7, doubts the report that Simonides praised Xenocrates' victories (so *Σ I.* 2. inscr. a = *Simon.* 513). But we lack a compelling story about how Simonides' name mistakenly entered the text of the

Over the course of the ode, Pindar emerges as a hybrid incorporating elements of both older and contemporary literature. The opening comparison and the entire ode may be framed in terms of what Bundy (1986) 3–4 n. 11, speaking generally, calls *φυνά* and *τέχνη*, nature and art. Pindar has the sincerity of older erotic encomium (belonging to *φυνά*) lacking from hireling contemporaries, but he is superior to older poets in artistic sophistication (belonging to *τέχνη*). Eventually both old-fashioned nostalgia and modish cynicism are left behind as Pindar articulates his own distinctive place in literary history and a contemporary literary landscape.³⁹

Isthmian 2 initially introduces a potential line of criticism in order to highlight its achievement in the area to which this challenge pertains (1–11):

Οἱ μὲν πάλαι, ὦ Θρασύβουλε,
 φῶτες, οἳ χρυσαμπύκων
 ἐς δίφρον Μοισᾶν ἔβαι-
 νον κλυτᾷ φόρμιγγι κυναντόμενοι,
 ῥίμφα παιδείους ἐτόξεον μελιγάρνας ὕμνους,
 ὅς τις ἐὼν καλὸς εἶχεν Ἀφροδίτας
 εὐθρόνου μνάστειραν ἀδίσταν ὀπώραν.
 Ἄ Μοῦσα γὰρ οὐ φιλοκερδῆς
 πῶ τότ' ἦν οὐδ' ἐργάτις·
 οὐδ' ἐπέρναντο γλυκεῖ-
 αι μελιφθόγγου ποτὶ Τερψιχόρας
 ἄργυρωθεῖσαι πρόσωπα μαλθακόφωνοι αἰοδαί.
 νῦν δ' ἐφίγητι <τὸ> τῶργείου φυλάξαι
 ῥῆμ' ἀλαθείας < ~ ~ > ἄγχιστα βαῖνον,
 'χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνὴρ'
 ὅς φᾶ κτεάνων θ' ἅμα λειφθεῖς καὶ φίλων.

Those men of old, o Thrasybulus, who, accompanied by the glorious lyre, used to mount the chariot of the golden-wreathed Muses, freely shot off their sweet-sounding songs of love for boys at anyone who was beautiful and had the sweetest bloom of late summer that courts fair-throned Aphrodite. For

Pindaric scholia here. The claim that the opening lines of *Isthmian* 2 are directed against Simonides (Σ 15a) might relate to knowledge of a Simonidean ode for this family (cf. Molyneux (1992) 233–4). The idea of a single 'official' epinician is a modern construct, and an unhelpful one.

³⁹ Bundy (1972) 88 n. 109: 'what envy [Pindar] has of the impulsive singers of old is thus rejected.'

then the Muse was not yet a lover of profit nor a hireling, nor were sweet, gentle-voiced songs with their faces silvered over sold by honey-voiced Terpsichore. But now she orders us to heed the Argive's saying, which comes . . . nearest to truth: 'Money, money is the man,' said he who was bereft of his possessions together with his friends.

Pindar contrasts contemporary professional praise poetry with older pederastic verse.⁴⁰ This opening is not just about poetry but more specifically, like other Pindaric proems, about opening a poem: *ἐς δῖον Μοικᾶν ἔβαινον* (2) connotes initiating a journey; *ἀργυρωθεῖσαι πρόσωπα* (8) describes gaudy preludes.⁴¹ The proem is where a poet selects his theme: desire, not cash, once dictated the subject of praise.⁴² The contrast here is not so much between amateur and professional poets but rather between songs motivated by attraction and those motivated by profit.

Contemporary professional poetry peddles gratification as indiscriminately as a prostitute. Nothing in archaic poetry foreshadows the audacious conceit of poems prostituted by their *lena* Terpsichore.⁴³ The Muse here is not a superhuman conduit to objective truth (*Il.* 2.484–7) but rather a symbol for the historical continuity of the poetic tradition. Literary culture has degenerated even worse than Hesiod's races (*Op.* 109, 127–8) from genuine gold (*χρυσαμύκων*, 1) to the artificial silver veneer of make-up (*ἀργυρωθεῖσαι πρόσωπα*, 8)

⁴⁰ Kurke (1991) 241–56 and Nicholson (2000) 240–2 helpfully situate *Isthmian* 2 in archaic mentalities surrounding money and sexuality, respectively. Woodbury (1968) sees a comparison between solo and choral poets. After Davies (1988) and Cingano (2003), this seems unattractive. Only *Τερψιχόρας* (7) suggests chorality. F. Cairns (2011) sees a contrast between inexpensive choral performance and lavish choral performance. Neither the text nor the historical record provides much support for this reading.

⁴¹ Climbing into a chariot to begin a journey: *N.* 9.4. *πρόσωπον* of verbal openings: cf. *O.* 6.3, Eur. *Phoen.* 1336.

⁴² Presumably in Pindar's day some praised beautiful youths in poetry for free (cf. *B. fr.* 4.79–80, Burnett (1988) 139) as Pindar praises beautiful youths on commission (*fr.* 123). The point might be that this form no longer attracts leading talents, who could now market their skill. *κλυταὶ φόρμιγγι* (*I.* 2.2) marks 'the poets of old' as canonical if the adjective means not 'resounding' but 'glorious' (see Braswell (1999) 61–2). The former sense is supported by the following allusions to older lyric poets. In the Pindaric corpus only at *fr.* 140a.60–1 might the *κλυτ-* stem refer exclusively to sound (for which sense see Finglass (2011) 249).

⁴³ *ἐργάτις* (*I.* 2.6): cf. Archil. 208, LSJ⁹ s.v. *ἐργαστήριον*, Pherecrates *fr.* 155 PCG, probably responding to our passage, Wilamowitz (1922) 311 n. 1, Thummer (1968–9) ii.40, Nicholson (2000) 241.

attracting the eye of a customer.⁴⁴ The Muse has become a lover of lucre, not beautiful boys (*φιλοκερδής*, 6; contrast *φιλόξενον*, 24, of Xenocrates).

Pindar distances himself from such poetry by highlighting his sustained relationship to his patron and by stressing that his praise is unforced and objectively merited. The Emmenidae have a respected collection of achievements; it is not cash alone that makes them praiseworthy. The past victory now celebrated is already well known in its own right: οὐκ ἀγνώτ' αἶδω | Ἴσθμίαν ἵπποις νίκαν, 'not unknown is the Isthmian chariot victory that I sing' (12–13).⁴⁵ The publicly recognized achievements of the Emmenidae, celebrated in previous songs (30–2), make it easy to praise them now once again (33–4): οὐ γὰρ πάγος οὐδὲ προσάντης ἅ κέλευθος γίνεται, | εἴ τις εὐδόξων ἐς ἀνδρῶν ἄγοι τιμὰς Ἑλικωνιάδων, 'for there is no hill, nor is the road steep, if someone leads the honours of the Heliconians [sc. the Muses] into the homes of famous men.' The motif of poetic journeying connects with the opening description of older poets (ἐκ δίφρον Μοικᾶν, 2). The younger poet, like his predecessors, does not passively take orders from Terpsichore but directs the Muses to his chosen subject. His ease recalls the ease of older poets (οὐδὲ προσάντης, 33; cf. *ρίμφα* . . . ἐτόξενον, 3). Whereas the contemporary Muse, like a prostitute (cf. Ar. *Eccl.* 1161–2), has no stable connection with those who employ her, *Isthmian* 2 is not merely merchandise but also an expression of friendship in a sustained personal relationship (cf. *ξείνον ἐμὸν ἡθαῖον*, 48). The central victory catalogue ends by alluding to Pindar's own previous odes celebrating the Emmenidae (30–2).

Pindar sets himself apart from widespread contemporary practice, but he does not simply identify his work with older lyric. He elsewhere unabashedly mentions financial rewards for his work, and there is no compelling reason to suppose that *Isthmian* 2 is not a commissioned work like other victory odes.⁴⁶ The initial criticism of

⁴⁴ Bowra (1964) 356, Nisetich (1977a) 141, Finglass (2007) 113.

⁴⁵ Read ἀγνώτ(α), an accusative singular describing the victory. An accusative plural yields less lucid sense. A dative would require suspect elision (Braswell (2013) 256). Pavese (1966) 111 takes the adjective as proleptic (cf. *P.* 6.16–17). This cannot be ruled out, but Xenocrates' past victory could have already acquired a reputation (cf. εὐδόξων . . . ἀνδρῶν, *I.* 2.34; 3.15–16).

⁴⁶ Pace, most recently, E. L. Bowie (2012) 88–9. Nagy (1989) 141 argues that Pindar reasserts 'the transcendent nature of his compensation'. But Indo-European roots are insufficient to establish a religious connotation for *μυθός* in the fifth century.

modern art should not be taken at face value. In decrying the debasement of poetry, Pindar alludes to two canonical older erotic poets brought to mind by his opening lines. Such complex, detailed allusions suit a work addressing Thrasybulus, a discerning literary enthusiast familiar with older poetry. Pindar halts his history of poetry with an appeal to the wisdom of his addressee: ἐccὶ γὰρ ὦν σοφός (12), '[but I need say no more] since you are wise.'⁴⁷ Whatever else it does, this implies that Thrasybulus is familiar with the literary history being recounted. *Pythian* 6, Pindar's other ode addressed to him, also praises his poetic expertise (48–9).

The scholia to *Isthmian* 2 (Σ 13) cite Anacreon: οὐδ' ἀργυρῇ κωτότ' ἔλαμπε Πειθῶ, 'silvery Persuasion was not yet shining then' (384).⁴⁸ Here, as so often in comedy, ancient scholarship preserves a genuine intertext. Anacreon, as the remnants of his poetry and later testimonia amply attest, composed many songs for various beautiful boys. It is probable, as the scholia assert (Σ 1b), that he is among the poets implicated by Pindar's Οἱ μὲν πάλαι, 'poets of old' (1). A silvery personified goddess associated with money and a nostalgic comparison between new and old make it probable that Pindar has his eye on this particular passage from Anacreon in describing silvery professional modern songs.⁴⁹ Pindar's οὐ . . . πω τότ' (*I.* 2.6) echoes Anacreon's οὐδ' . . . κωτότ' (384) as Pindar's ἀργυρωθεῖσαι (8) looks to Anacreon's ἀργυρῇ (384). By referring to an older poet who decried the loss of a better era before his own time, Pindar suggests that decrying the decay of traditional values is itself traditional.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Cf. *O.* 2.95, Pavese (1966) 110–11, Thummer (1968–9) ii.42, Verdenius (1987–88) ii.126, Privitera (1982) 160, Kurke (1991) 248–9. It is unattractive to take the sentence as looking forward (*pace* Denniston 446, Woodbury (1968) 541, Nisetich (1977a) 142). Thrasybulus' knowledge of his own father's victory could have little to do with him being wise. With γὰρ 'compression of thought is often the source of difficulty' (Denniston 61).

⁴⁸ Bowra (1961) 296 attractively posits an erotic context. Striking the pose of the impoverished lover familiar to us from later poetry (Kerkhecker (1999) 70 n. 41), Anacreon might be lamenting that money now persuades the beautiful.

⁴⁹ Woodbury (1968) 533, Nagy (1990) 341, Kurke (1991) 245. Maslov (2015) 261 instead posits 'an evocation of a familiar generic frame for a description of time immemorial'. But the parallels provided are not sufficient evidence for a "time immemorial" topos' (264). Nor would such a topos be sufficient to explain the congruities between our two passages.

⁵⁰ Cf. Callim. *Ia.* 3.1, looking to Hes. *Op.* 174–5. Compare and contrast Kurke (1991) 245.

As the modern Pindar echoes an older poet in his attack on modernity, so also the modern Muse follows an antique script. Alcaeus already quoted with approval a version of Aristodemus' saying as a well-known saying from the past (fr. 360):

ὥς γὰρ δὴ ποτ' Ἀριστόδα-
 μον φαίς' οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον ἐν Σπάρται λόγον
 εἴπην, χρήματ' ἀνὴρ, πένι-
 χρος δ' οὐδ' εἷς πέλετ' ἔσλος οὐδὲ τίμιος.

For they say that once Aristodemus spoke a shrewd saying in Sparta: 'Money is the man, and not a single poor man is noble or honoured.'

Again the Pindaric scholia (Σ 17) preserve this genuine intertext. The basic idea is common enough, as Privitera (1982) 159 shows, but both Alcaeus and Pindar cite these words as a quotation and very probably as a quotation of the same person, as the ancient scholia and many modern scholars suppose.⁵¹ Like Anacreon, Alcaeus composed erotic verse for beautiful youths⁵² but did not, as far as we can tell, compose commissioned poems dedicated to the praise of mature individuals. Pindar's opening description of the 'men of old' thus primes its audience to recognize this allusion, too.

In *Isthmian* 2 the new Muse promulgates old news already cited as old news by an old poet. The modern Pindar, however, does not straightforwardly endorse her message.⁵³ It takes more than cash to make a man praiseworthy—as the ensuing praise of Xenocrates suggests. Pindar's more complex and distinguished subject sets him apart from the older authors of his poem. Erotic lyric begins

⁵¹ Cf. e.g. Santoni (1983) 97–104, the fullest discussion. Pindar attributes the saying to an Argive; in Alcaeus Aristodemus spoke 'in Sparta'. Alcaeus was prominent enough to feature on Athenian pottery from around the same time as Pindar's ode (see Yatromanolakis (2007) 74). His poetry circulated. Stories about the Seven Sages circulated in great variety (e.g. D.L. 1.40–1) and never assumed a single definitive form. One version had the Spartan Aristodemus crowned wisest in Argos (D.L. 1.30). Perhaps Pindar refers to a different version of the story and 'corrects' Alcaeus or refers to a different element of the same story (cf. Nafissi (1991) 345). Liberman (1999) 245 revives Bergk's conjecture of τῶλκαίου for τῶργείου at *I.* 2.9.

⁵² Vetta (1982), Spelman (2014a) 59.

⁵³ 'Coming nearest truth' (*I.* 2.10) is not the truth (cf. *prope vera*, Hor. *Epist.* 1.18.28). *χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνὴρ* (11) is a betrayed man's cynical jab at fair-weather friends. If this nearly succeeds as a description of reality, it is not endorsed as a moral norm. If few remain true to friends in hard times, the majority do not have right on their side (cf. *N.* 10.78–9).

to appear somewhat trivial in comparison with epinician.⁵⁴ The initial description of Thrasybulus as σοφός, 'wise' (12), sets the programme for praise of character rather than praise of beauty. Some scholars have seen indirect commendation of generosity in the proem.⁵⁵ Pindar, however, is concerned with a more holistic assessment which includes but is not limited to generosity. Xenocrates spent liberally, but his outlay pointed to other, more substantive ethical values.

Xenocrates is praised for various manifestations of his kind disposition (ὀργάν... γλυκεῖαν, 35–6). Parallel metaphors of poetic projectiles delineate differences and similarities between Pindar and older poets: ῥίμφα παιδείους ἐτόξευον μελιγάρνας ὕμνους, 'they freely shot off sweet-sounding poems of love for boys' (3); μακρὰ δισκήσαις ἀκοντίσσαιμι τοσοῦθ', ὅσον ὀργάν | Ξεινοκράτης ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων γλυκεῖαν | ἔσχευ, 'may I, having made a long throw with the discus, cast a javelin [of song] as far as Xenocrates attained a sweet disposition surpassing mankind' (35–7). Both Pindar and his predecessors match a pleasing song to a sweet subject (ἀδίσταν ὀπώραν, 5; ὀργάν... γλυκεῖαν, 35–6). Older poets sang of any attractive youth, but Pindar praises a singular individual without equal among mankind. A superlative theme requires his utmost effort. ῥίμφα (3) contrasts with μακρά (35), which appears in corresponding strophic position.

ὅστις ἐὼν καλός (4), together with ῥίμφα (3), connoting both quickness and ease,⁵⁶ suggests that older poets were indifferent to criteria besides beauty and even perhaps fickle. Whereas they praised ephemeral beauty (εἶχεν, 4, imperfect), Xenocrates' temperament was a permanent characteristic (ἔσχευ, 37, aorist). Youthful beauty is confined to one passing season of life (ὀπώραν, 5); Xenocrates' hospitality was always in season (θερραῖαι... χειμῶνι, 41–2). Like the short-term cash transactions of venal modern encomia, pederastic poetry is predicated upon a relationship which is circumscribed by time: the addressee's impending maturity will render him unattractive.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Contrast e.g. Nicholson (2000) 240, who writes of 'a golden age of poetry before its commodification'.

⁵⁵ Kurke (1991) 242: 'the ultimate point of this contrast is praise of Thrasybulos' *megalo-prepeia*.'

⁵⁶ Fraenkel (1950) 214 on Aesch. Ag. 407. For hasty composition as a fault cf. Ar. Ach. 851, Hor. Ars. P. 289–94.

⁵⁷ Cf. Mimnermus 5, Thgn. 1303–7, later texts discussed by Tarán (1985). A bond of friendship would ideally persist after the *eromenos* matured (Pind. O. 1.75–8, Theoc. 29.33–4); erotic encomia would not (Thgn. 1327–8).

Epinician takes a more complex, challenging, and durable theme: mature human excellence.

Epinician differs from older erotic poetry not only in its relation to its subject but also in its relation to its audience. *παιδείους* . . . *ῥμνονς* (3) are poems in praise of youths.⁵⁸ They are ‘shot’ (3) at their subject because they aim to seduce him. The description of the addressee’s beauty as *Ἀφροδίτας* | *εὐθρόνου μνάστειραν ἀδίσταν ὀπώραν*, ‘late summer that courts fair-throned Aphrodite’ (4–5), leaves little doubt about the erotic motivations of those who compose this sort of work.⁵⁹ Like hired panegyric, these poems are, on a certain view, instruments for winning a pragmatic advantage for the speaker from his addressee. Anacreon acknowledges the persuasive goal of this sort of poetry (402c): *ἐμὲ γὰρ ἢ λόγων (λόγων <ἐμῶν> Bergk) εἵνεκα παῖδες ἂν φιλέοιεν* | *χαρίεντα μὲν γὰρ αἶδω, χαρίεντα δ’ οἶδα λέξαι*, ‘for boys might love me for my words because I sing charmingly and know how to speak charmingly.’ Pindaric epinician, by contrast, is associated with friendship rather than desire to obtain erotic or monetary benefit and addresses the poet’s social equal (*ξείνων*, 46). Pindar seeks not to seduce a rich patron or a beautiful youth but rather to reach a widespread secondary audience. This ode, like many others, closes by looking towards this ultimate goal (43–6):

*μή νυν, ὅτι φθονεραὶ
θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφικρέμανται ἐλπίδες,
μήτ’ ἀρετὰν ποτε κυγάτω πατρώϊαν,
μηδὲ τούτδ’ ῥμνονς· ἐπεὶ τοι
οὐκ ἐλινύσοντας αὐτοὺς ἐργασάμαν.*

And so then let him [sc. Thrasybulus] never, since envious hopes hang about the minds of mortals, keep silent his father’s excellence or these songs, for truly I did not fashion them in order to remain in one place.

The address to the intermediary Nicasippus (47–8), whoever he might be, points up the gap between what D’Alessio (2004) terms ‘coding-’ and ‘receiving-time’ and also the spatial gap between composition and reception. Whereas older erotic poets spontaneously sang in order to seduce those whom they met in face-to-face interactions, Pindar of Thebes composes for an addressee far away and constructs his work in

⁵⁸ B. fr. 4.80, Von der Mühlh (1964) 171–2, Kurke (1988) 204–7; cf. B. 10.42–3 with Maehler (1982–97) ii.190.

⁵⁹ For *μνάστειραν* (I. 2.5), ‘wooer’, see Carey (1981) 108; cf. Verdenius (1987–88) ii.122.

order that it might continue travelling abroad long after its first performance. While not merely following the modern professional Muse, Pindar prides himself in the modern, professional quality of his literary craftsmanship (ἐργασάμαν, 46; cf. ἐργάτις, 6).⁶⁰ He does not casually shoot off odes at beautiful boys (ρίμφα, 3) but carefully crafts artefacts to be launched into the reaches of space and time (45–6). The poet's hard work is reflected in a literary excellence which secures a widespread and lasting reception. Older erotic poets have already achieved canonical status, but their artistic project, according to Pindar, was bound up with pragmatic erotic goals; for Pindar, attaining canonical status is the pragmatic goal.

Meditation on earlier literature suits *Isthmian* 2, a poem dealing with a son's relationship to his father. Poet and addressee alike must negotiate with the past. By publicly performing *Isthmian* 2, Thrasybulus will announce his intention to emulate Xenocrates, just as he did when he was younger (*P.* 6.44–5). Indeed, the diptych of *Isthmian* 2 and *Pythian* 6, both celebrating Xenocrates' victories, depicts father and son as a matching pair.⁶¹ Thrasybulus' sweet mind (γλυκεῖα . . . φρήν, *P.* 6.52) perpetuates Xenocrates' sweet disposition (ὀργάν . . . γλυκεῖαν, *I.* 2.35–6). By commissioning a poem dedicated to Xenocrates' virtues, Thrasybulus perpetuates his father's cultural sophistication and liberality. Thrasybulus, like Pindar, must find a way to continue and even improve upon the legacy of the past.

As the previous paragraph suggests, Pindar's engagement with older poetry is not just about the ludic interplay of texts. His thinking on tradition has 'equal application to art and life' (Bundy (1972) 88 n. 109).

3. CONCLUSIONS

Isthmian 2, like many of Pindar's odes, invites its audience to situate the author and his work simultaneously within a diachronic literary

⁶⁰ Cf. Kurke (1991) 250–1.

⁶¹ Note parallel praise of use of wealth (*I.* 2.38–42; *P.* 6.46), horsemanship (*I.* 2.38; *P.* 6.50–1), and respect for others (*I.* 2.37; *P.* 6.48). Cf. Bury (1892) 32, Morrison (2007a) 89.

history and within a contemporary landscape. Though much of this overarching context which was familiar to many among his fifth-century public is now lost to us, we can nonetheless, by assembling evidence from across the corpus, attain a fairly robust, intrinsically plausible, and internally coherent conception of Pindar's vision of the poetic world, both past and present.

Synthesizing preceding arguments, this section tentatively sketches Pindar's view of literary history up to and including his own era. There are obvious potential pitfalls to building such a unified narrative from disparate individual passages scattered throughout an oeuvre. Effective rhetoric, however, must have some bearing on more or less coherent public ideas of how the world is. Pindar can tell different stories to achieve different rhetorical ends in different contexts, but his stories are based in shared perceptions of reality. Thus Homer may be depicted as a truthful praise poet (*I.* 4.37–42) or as a cunning liar (*N.* 7.20–4), but both these passages presuppose that Homeric epic is widely known, as it was. The affinities between various references to other literature in Pindar encourages one to look for overarching patterns. Similarly, we cannot extract from the victory odes a systematic, rationalized theory of poetry to rival that of Aristotle, but we can make illuminating connections between various passages which discuss poetics. Drawing on the passages discussed in the last three chapters, we can trace the general outlines of Pindar's sense of a poetic past and of his own position in one particular moment.

For Pindar genres are very old. They came into being in the distant past in order to fulfil time-honoured social needs like celebrating athletic victory (*N.* 8.50–1). New occasions continually elicit fresh iterations of ancient forms (*O.* 10.76–81). Over time there has also accrued a series of musical and technical innovations resulting from cultural interchange (*fr.* 125) and individual talent (*fr.* 140b). Besides such inventions, authors can also transmit an integral composition into the future. Time winnows out all but the best (*N.* 4.39–43). A variety of authors like Homer (*I.* 4.37–42) and Archilochus (*P.* 2.54–6) have become landmarks in the literary landscape. New works are thus contextualized against the background of a canon of remembered works and within a conversation of imitation and emulation with the voices of the past (*O.* 9.47–9).

The relatively recent emergence of a Hellenic economy of glory is the most significant development separating Pindar's historical

moment from the past (*I.* 2.1–12). The best poets now do not respond to the needs of a moment or their own first-hand experience or the impulse of the Muse but rather are commissioned by a series of patrons, usually from other communities, expressly in order to perpetuate fame (*B.* 10.9–14). Both author and patron define themselves by their participation in this Panhellenic network of prestige (*P.* 1.75–80). The epinician genre in particular has evolved from an organic outburst of joy immediately after victory into an artefact crafted expressly in order to reach into the world and into the future (*Olympian* 10). *Olympian* 9 and *Isthmian* 2 imply that a self-conscious and thoroughgoing orientation towards later reception separates Pindar from his lyric predecessors. Poetry is still imbedded in social life and the author's experience, but it now concentrates on transcending that immediate context. Among contemporary eulogists, Pindar depicts himself as the consummate professional uniquely capable of creating works that fulfil their highest purpose: to enter a canon and perpetuate fame (*N.* 3.80–4). Each of his odes is literary history unfolding in the present. To interpret them as such has been one of the central concerns of this work.

Epilogue

ταῦτ' ἀδὲ τρὶς τετράκι τ' ἀμπολεῖν
ἀπορία τελέθει, τέκνοισιν ᾗτε μαψυλάκας 'Διὸς Κόρινθος'.

To plough over the same field three and four times is pointless,
like someone vainly yapping to children, 'Corinth belongs
to Zeus.'

Pind. N. 7.104-5

This epilogue will not recapitulate the arguments of the preceding chapters, which have already been summarized in the introductions to Part One and Part Two. Instead, I want briefly to highlight the unity of this work as a whole and then to take a broader view over ancient literature in order to trace some potential connections between Pindar and other sorts of poetry, both earlier and later.

This work falls into two interconnected parts, the first concerned with Pindar's relationship to his present and future audiences, the second concerned with his relationship to contemporary and older poetry. These chapters combine to paint a coherent picture of his authorial project. The Pindar who emerges from this monograph is a poet who looks with supreme self-consciousness to the past, the present, and the future simultaneously. In each ode he is composing for an unrepeatable event a poem that will be remembered and repeated in time to come. This vision of the present and the future of his work is intertwined with his view of the past: Pindar and his audiences remember older poets who composed works embedded in their present but reaching through time.

Chapter V argued that some older lyric poets conceived of their own authorial projects along similar lines. Over the last several decades, the study of early archaic lyric, even more than the study of Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides, has been largely occupied with

interpreting these texts in relation to the circumstances of their first performances and their immediate social contexts. Here too, however, there are more and more signs that scholars are becoming increasingly interested in secondary audiences and subsequent reception. New vistas are opening up.

I have been much concerned with the reception of Pindar's poetry beyond its first performance. This accords with some recent scholarship on Athenian theatre. After decades of focusing on the immediate performative and social settings of tragedy and comedy, scholars are increasingly interested in the possibility that plays were also oriented towards reperformance, reading, and audiences beyond Attica.¹ In this respect, as in many others, Athenian drama might be able to be understood as an unpredictable but coherent development of a tradition that includes archaic lyric.

Throughout this work I have stressed not 'the strangeness of song culture' but rather continuities between the culture of Pindar's day and later literary practices—at one point going so far as to compare Pindar to Keats. A sense of an iterable 'lyric present' has been reasonably thought to be central to our contemporary conception of the genre (Culler (2015) 226), and I have argued that it was central to Greek lyric from early on. Our own ideas about lyric do not come from nowhere.

'We are now used to thinking of the ancient Greeks as an exotic people,' as Bernard Williams (1993) 1 wrote in the first sentence of a book published a quarter of a century ago. That vital sense of otherness, which classical studies must work to maintain, may have the side effect of blinding us to how strange, in larger contexts, are some aspects of Greek culture which are, at first glance, familiar to us. The performance of oral lyric poetry is a very common human practice which spans many cultures; it is Pindar who is weird, within a broad comparative anthropological framework and probably also within his own culture, to the extent that he composes for a later reception based

¹ On tragedy see Taplin (1999), M. Griffith (2011), Vahtikari (2014), and Csapo and Wilson (2015), who provide further bibliography; on comedy see Lowe (1993), Wright (2012), and Telò (2016). If trustworthy, Hdt. 6.21.2 implies that it was an expectation from early on that a play would be 'used' after its first performance (χρᾶσθαι; cf. 2.123, 146, Wright (2016) 26). It is significant that Hieron's court attracted not just Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides but also Aeschylus. The earliest extant Athenian tragedy, Aeschylus' *Persians*, is coincidentally also the earliest tragedy for which we have evidence of reperformance outside Athens.

on written texts. Most human verbal communication serves pragmatic functions and can only be adequately understood within its immediate pragmatic context; it is Pindar's poetry which is weird, in the most general possible context, insofar as it tries to be anything different. To the extent that the Pindar who emerges from this work strikes us as a more familiar poet, to that extent we should regard his poetry as something more fundamentally strange.

Throughout this work I have stressed continuities between archaic and later literary practices and also connections between Pindar and later authors. The fine-grained verbal parallels observed and the large-scale conceptual parallels drawn between Pindar and subsequent poets like Aristophanes, Callimachus, and Horace in many cases will not just represent instantiations of shared tropes and common themes but will track the direct influence of Pindar. In this work I hope to have offered a measure of new insight into some facets of his poetics which would go on to be remarkably influential for a remarkably long time. To grasp Pindar's vision of his place in the traditions of archaic poetry may in the end help us to see better how and why he eventually came to hold such a central place in the Graeco-Roman literary tradition as a whole.

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